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LIVES

OF

EMINENT CHRISTIANS.

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VOLUME II.

BERNARD GILPIN;

BISHOP BEDELL:

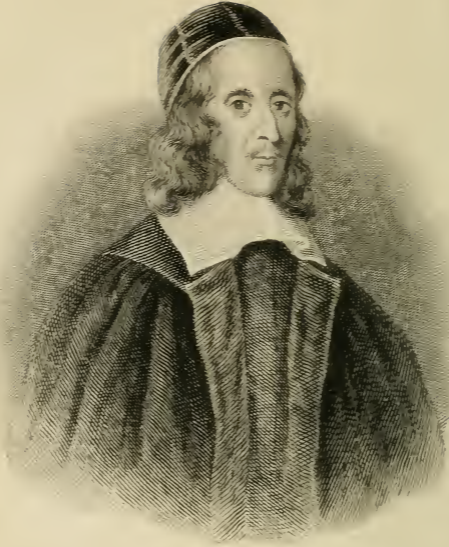
PHILIP DE MORNAY;

ANTHONY HORNECK.









Wm. G. Thompson

SCOTT & BROWN.

THE  
LIVES  
OF  
BERNARD GILPIN, B.D.  
*RECTOR OF HOUGHTON-LE SPRING, DURHAM;*

PHILIP DE MORNAY,  
*LORD OF PLESSIS MARLY, IN FRANCE, GOVERNOR OF SAUMUR, COUNSELLOR  
OF STATE TO KING HENRY THE FOURTH, &c.;*

WILLIAM BEDELL, D.D.  
*BISHOP OF KILMORE, IN IRELAND;*

AND

ANTHONY HORNECK, D.D.  
*PREBENDARY OF WESTMINSTER, AND PREACHER  
AT THE SAVOY,*

BY THE REV. RICHARD B. HONÉ, M.A.  
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M.DCCC.XXXVI.



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We delight to remember those holy persons whose bodies rest in the bed of peace, and whose souls are deposited in the hands of Christ till the day of restitution of all things.—JEREMY TAYLOR.

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Book  
BK  
1884/85

## P R E F A C E.

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THE Lives of eminent servants of God are amongst the choicest treasures of the church, and their remembrance has ever been cherished with affectionate care, to the intent that a just tribute of respect may be awarded to the dead, and a practical exhibition of piety and virtue presented to the living. A regard for the Divine Author and Finisher of our faith inclines us to honour those who have adopted its profession; and as the most excellent models of the human form constitute an important branch of study to the artist and sculptor, so the history of the most consistent followers of our heavenly Master furnishes a profitable and edifying subject of contemplation to the disciple of Christ.

With this twofold purpose of commemorating worth, and of diffusing the influence of good example, the writer was recently employed in collecting into one volume the surviving memorials of archbishop Usher, Dr. Hammond, bishop Wilson, and Mr. Evelyn. That work has been received with sufficient favour to encourage him to proceed with four more portraits, which he now submits to the public eye. He is conscious of many defects in this as well as in the former volume, when viewed as literary productions. For these, he trusts he may be allowed to plead his ministerial engagements in a populous parish. But feeling that he would deservedly be subject to censure for any more serious blemishes, he has anxiously guarded against them, has diligently gathered information

from every quarter known and accessible to him, and has endeavoured to communicate it whole and unimpaired, with faithfulness and truth.

Upon the subjects which he has here attempted to delineate, he has looked with unalloyed pleasure, as he traced out their several features. He has followed with admiration the course of Bernard Gilpin, first working his way to the truth, and then diligently spreading its light over his parish and a wide tract of surrounding country,—of De Mornay, the christian soldier, devout in the camp and the council-chamber, no less than in the domestic circle,—of Bedell, firm in carrying forward his matured schemes of reformation, yet so holy and blameless as to disarm opposition, and to gain universal honour and love,—and of Horneck, devoted as a pastor, weaned from the world as a disciple of Christ, and abounding in self-denial, piety, and good works. He trusts that feelings of like interest may be awakened in the minds of his readers, and that they may be induced to follow the footsteps of these holy men, in seeking to be partakers of eternal glory. And he is persuaded that long after his own name shall have been forgotten, and when the thread on which he has strung these precious pearls shall have perished, the pearls themselves will be treasured up by the church, and recommended, after a more worthy manner, to the reverence and imitation of mankind.

R. B. H.

PORTSMOUTH,  
*October 13, 1834.*

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BERNARDIUS SILESIUS

# THE LIFE

OF

## THE REV. BERNARD GILPIN.

1517—1583.

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### CHAPTER I.

PROGRESSIVE DETECTION OF THE ERRORS OF POPERY.

. . . . . Seeking this  
Alone,—the approbation of his God,  
Which still with conscience witnessed to his peace.  
This, this is freedom, such as angels use,  
And kindred to the liberty of God.

*POLLOK'S Course of Time.*

THE progress of the Reformation in England affords an interesting and important study to every protestant. inasmuch as it exhibits the cautious yet determined steps by which the truths revealed in the Word of God, and believed by the primitive church, were rescued from that oblivion into which they had fallen during a long and dismal season of spiritual darkness. Not less attractive and profitable is that portion of the same field of inquiry which belongs to the province of the biographer. There the first dawning and the subsequent expansion of the same glorious light may be traced in the minds of such individuals as were intent upon applying the test of Holy Scripture to every doctrine proposed for their acceptance. And, where sufficient memorials exist to show the practical operation of their principles, after their

emancipation from superstition and falsehood, and to hold out salutary examples meet for the disciples of Christ to follow, their history naturally becomes still more worthy of serious and respectful consideration.

Such is the nature of the ensuing memoir. The records of the early life of its subject illustrate his deliverance from popery, and show how he was led on, step by step, to a cordial reception of the doctrines of the Reformation. They then set forth his complete devotion to the service of his divine Master, and distinguish him as one of the brightest of those stars which, with light reflected from above, shed their rays upon our native land at that memorable era\*.

Bernard Gilpin was born at the family seat, Kentmire-hall, in the county of Westmoreland, in 1517, a year memorable in the annals of the church, as being that in which Luther began to preach against the corruptions of the popish religion. He was one of the youngest of several children of Edwin Gilpin, whose elder brother had fallen in the battle of Bosworth Field, leaving him to succeed to the property which had been conferred upon their forefathers in the reign of king John.

It is related, that, at a very early age, the indignation

\* The materials from which the following account has been composed were supplied, first, by William Freake's translation of Bishop Carleton's *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, first published in 1629, and lately reprinted in Dr. Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. iv.; secondly, by *the Life of Bernard Gilpin*, by the Rev. William Gilpin, Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Boldre, in the New Forest.

Bishop Carleton, having been brought up by Mr. Gilpin, had most favourable opportunities of collecting the information which he gives respecting his admirable patron. The author of the second memoir was a collateral descendant of Bernard Gilpin, and, in preparing his *Life*, availed himself of the letters and various notices treasured up by the family; he likewise obtained further memorials from other quarters.

In a few instances, where the original letters have been lost, Carleton's version has supplied the deficiency; of which a due acknowledgment will be found.

of Bernard was excited by the immoral conduct of a mendicant friar, a class of men which bishop Carleton describes as principally "labouring for a form of godliness, but denying the power of it in their lives and conversations, whereas others of them retained not so much as an outside thereof."

One of these people, professing himself a zealous preacher, came to the house of Gilpin's father on a Saturday, for the purpose of preaching on the next day, and there disgraced himself by intoxication. "But in the morning," says the bishop, "as if he had been some young saint lately dropped from heaven, he causeth the bell to toll to the sermon; and, in the midst thereof, blustering out certain good words, he presumed to grow hot against some sins of the time, and, amongst the rest, to thunder boldly against drunkenness." Young Gilpin, "who had but newly got the use of his tongue," suddenly cried out to his mother in the church, "O mother, do you hear how this fellow dare speak against drunkenness. who was drunk himself yesternight at our house?"

As the boy grew up, he manifested a serious and thoughtful disposition; and his parents, willing to adapt his future vocation to his peculiar turn of mind, prepared the way by giving him a good education at school, and in due time removing him to Oxford, where he was admitted on the foundation of Queen's College\*.

In the university he acquired an honourable reputation, by his proficiency in the studies usually pursued there; and likewise became acquainted with the writings of Erasmus, which exposed the superstitions of popery, and the vices of the clergy.

He did not read these powerful works without having his eyes in some degree opened to the fact, that some errors had grown up in the church in which he was born and educated: but still "his mind," says Carleton,

\* In one of the Lansdowne MSS., in the British Museum, vol. 982, p. 36, he is stated to have entered as "a poor serving child."

“although disposed to holiness, did for a while remain in darkness, and being overclouded with prejudicial respects, laboured under the burthen of superstition not without some shadow of antiquity, being more earnest against the vices and corruptions of the time than against the traditions of the fathers.”

At the usual period he took the degree of Master of Arts, and, about the same time, was elected fellow of Queen's college; but, on the completion of Christ Church, which cardinal Wolsey founded and endowed, he was induced to remove to that society, being one of the first persons who received such an invitation, owing to his excellent character and high attainments.

The writings of Erasmus had led him into greater freedom of inquiry than was common in those days; and he became further acquainted with the sentiments of the reformers by means of a public discussion which he held with Dr. Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester, who, in the next reign, received the crown of martyrdom for Christ's sake. But his mind, being thus prepared for a reception of the truth, made the most rapid advances towards a knowledge of the doctrines of the Gospel during the progress of a disputation in which he took part at Oxford, in the reign of Edward the sixth. Under the auspices of that prince, Peter Martyr, the celebrated reformer, read divinity lectures at Oxford, in a strain to which the University had been little accustomed. As he combated with great force some of the leading doctrines of popery, it was thought necessary to meet him in the field of argument, and Bernard Gilpin was warmly pressed to take a leading part in the debate, with a few others, Chedsey, Morgan, and Tresham,—“men not unlearned for the times.”

His mind was at this time in so unsettled a state, that he would willingly have declined taking any part in the discussions; but, being warmly urged by the popish party, he yielded to their importunity. And now, “to the end that he might defend his cause in hand, he adventureth

more diligently than ordinary to examine the Scriptures and the ancient fathers; and by how much the more he studied to defend the cause which he had undertaken, so much the less confidence he began to have therein, because he supposed that he ought to stand for the truth, which he strove with all his might to discover and find out. But, whilst he was zealously searching for the truth, he began, by little and little, to have a sight of his own errors." He found that his opponent was too strong for him in arguments drawn from the stores of Holy Writ, and being of an ingenuous temper, he publicly owned that he could not maintain the cause which he had undertaken; at the same time resolving to enter into no more controversies until he had thoroughly sifted the doctrines in question.

Peter Martyr's heart was won by Gilpin's sincerity of purpose and gravity of deportment. "As for Chedsey, Morgan, and the rest of those hot-headed zealots," he would say, "he could not in truth be much concerned about them; but Mr. Gilpin seemed a man of such uprightness of intention, and so much sincerity, both in his words and actions, that it went to his heart to see him still involved in prejudice and error. The rest, he thought, were only a trifling light sort of men, led into an opposition more by vain-glory, and a desire to distinguish themselves, than from any better motives: but Mr. Gilpin's ingenuousness of behaviour, and irreproachable life, left room for no such suspicion with regard to him; and he could not but own, that he considered his espousing any cause as a very great credit to it." And often did he pray to God to lead this pious papist to a knowledge of true religion.

That fervent prayer was heard, although a considerable interval was yet to elapse before its complete accomplishment. An immediate benefit, however, accrued to Bernard Gilpin: he had seen enough to induce him to apply himself to search diligently for the truth, both by study and prayer; and he began by writing down the principal argu-

ments which had been brought against him, and examining them by the rule of God's word, in the calm retirement of his study.

But, in the very outset of his inquiry, many scruples arose in his mind, and some of them sprang out of his great humility. It might be wrong, he thought, to call the faith, which was sanctioned by nearly the whole of Christendom, to the bar of his private judgment: he was sensible of his own weaknesses and imperfections, and feared to trust himself in so momentous an undertaking. But then, such an investigation might silence the doubts which had crept into his mind; so he proceeded to examine those tenets of popery which had been called in question, and the more he considered them the less defensible they appeared. "If he tried them by reason," says the vicar of Boldre, "he found them utterly unable to stand that proof; and if he endeavoured to reconcile them to Scripture, he could not but observe by what unnatural interpretations it was only to be effected. He endeavoured, likewise, to acquaint himself with the history of popery, that he might discover in what age its several questioned doctrines first appeared. From this search into antiquity, he observed that none of them obtained in the earlier and purer ages of the christian church, but were all the inventions of later times, when ignorance and credulity prevailed, and gave sufficient opportunity for designing men to establish any creed that suited them."

Whatever part of popery he examined he found to be encumbered with human inventions; but he was so strongly persuaded of the obligation which rested upon him, as a Christian, to preserve the unity of the church, that nothing short of a conviction that it was anti-christian could satisfy him of the lawfulness of separating from its communion. The fear of schism greatly troubled him; and, corrupt as he now saw the church of Rome to be, he could not bring himself to forsake her while she professed to make the Scriptures her rule of faith.



But this last link was broken by the Council of Trent, which was sitting at the very time that he was pursuing these anxious inquiries. That celebrated ecclesiastical assembly issued a decree that the traditions of the church should be esteemed of equal authority with the Scriptures themselves. This extraordinary announcement led him to the conclusion, that now it was not only allowable, but necessary, to depart from a church which rested her faith upon so false a foundation. He considered that traditions were but the pope's word; and that, in thus making human authority equal to the word of God, the bishop of Rome was fulfilling the prophecy concerning antichrist: *Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.*—2 Thess. ii. 4. And he thus argued with himself: that if the pope were antichrist, it was necessary to obey the voice from heaven, *Come out of her, my people!*—Rev. xviii. 4; but if the pope were not antichrist, he saw no sufficient ground for such separation. He, therefore, applied himself, by reading, prayer, and meditation, to solve this question, to which the decree of the council had conducted him; and eventually satisfied himself that the several tokens were too clear to be misunderstood,—that the church was apostate, and must be forsaken. “The times of our forefathers,” he said, “were certainly much happier than the present times of popery, for the papists have now altered what little was left of the institutions of the primitive church; by placing the rule of faith in traditions, they have done what was never thought of before. Many opinions, likewise, which men were before at liberty to hold, with regard to justification and the sacraments, are not now tolerated. These are the things which oblige other churches to dissent from the church of Rome; and hence the Council of Trent must answer for all that confusion which hath since ensued.”

Hitherto Bernard Gilpin had pursued an academical

life\*; and, when solicited by his friends to undertake a pastoral charge, he answered that the times required higher qualifications than he possessed, and that he was not yet sufficiently advanced in religion to become an instructor of others. But in 1552, the thirty-fifth year of his age, he yielded to their desires rather than his own inclinations, by accepting the vicarage of Norton, in the diocese of Durham, a living in the gift of the crown.

Before he went to reside in his parish he was required to preach before the king, who was then at Greenwich, in compliance with a rule applied to benefices in the royal patronage, for the exclusion of popish preachers†. In that sermon, his only published composition, he inveighed with much feeling and eloquence against the sins and corruptions of the times.

The freedom and excellence of this discourse may be inferred from the following passages.

THE FALL AND RECOVERY OF MAN.—“After that our first parents, through disobedience and sin, had blotted and disfigured the lively image of God, whereunto they were created, and might have lived alway in a conformity to the will of God: man was never able to apply himself to God his Father’s business, nor yet so much as to know what appertained thereto. *The natural man, saith St. Paul, perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, till Christ, the very true image of God the Father, did come down, and took man’s nature upon him; which descent, as he declareth, was to fulfil for us the will of his Father, that like as by disobedience of one man, many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one (Christ), many might be made righteous, what time as he became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross‡.* Which

\* He took the degree of B. D. in the year 1549.

† Amongst the Lansdowne MSS., in the British Museum, may be seen an original letter, in Latin, from Bernard Gilpin to secretary Cecil, expressing great doubts of his own fitness for the cure of souls; at the same time thanking Cecil for his kind letters on the subject, and stating himself ready to preach before the king.

‡ The reader who notices a difference between these quotations and the words of our Bible, will remember that our translation

obedience, lest carnal men should challenge to suffice for them, howsoever their life be a continual rebellion against God and his holy will, (such as there be a great number, and have been in all ages)—St. Paul wipeth them clean away, saying *Christ hath become salvation*, not to all, but to all that obey him.

“Let no man, therefore, flatter and deceive himself. If we will challenge the name of Christ’s disciples, if we will worthily possess the glorious name of Christians, we must learn this lesson of our Master, to be occupied in our heavenly Father’s business; which is, to fly our own will, which is a wicked and wanton will, and wholly to conform ourselves to his will, saying, as we are taught, *Thy will be done*; which, as St. Augustine saith, ‘the fleshly man, the covetous, adulterous, ravenous, or deceitful man, can never say, but with his lips, because in his heart he preferreth his own cursed will, setting aside the will of God.’”

OBJECT OF HIS SERMON.—“Now, forasmuch as the greatest part of the world hath, at this day, forsaken their Father’s business, applying their own, and are altogether drowned in sin; for *the whole head is sick, and the whole heart is heavy; from the sole of the foot to the head, there is nothing whole therein*; and, as St. Paul saith, *all seek their own, and not that which is Jesus Christ’s*; and as I am here ascended into the high hill of Sion, the highest hill in all this realm, I must needs, as it is given me in commission, *cry aloud and spare not; lift up my voice like a trumpet, and show the people their transgressions*. I must cry unto all estates, as well of the ecclesiastical ministry, as of the civil governance, with the vulgar people.

“But forasmuch as example of Holy Scripture, with experience of Christ’s church in all ages, hath taught us that the fall of priests is the fall of the people; and contrariwise, the integrity of them is the preservation of the whole flock; and the ministers, as Christ saith, being *the light of his mystical body, if the light be turned into darkness there must needs follow great darkness in the whole body*,—I think it fit to begin

was not issued till the year 1611: and that the Bible then in use was that which is commonly called *The Great Bible*, which was published, with a preface by archbishop Cranmer, about twelve years before the date of this sermon.

with them who seem to have brought blindness into the whole body, making men to forget their heavenly Father's business. They which should have kept the candle still burning, these will I chiefly examine in that business which Christ so earnestly committed to all pastors before his ascension, when he demanded thrice of Peter if he loved him; and every time, upon Peter's confession, enjoined him straightly to feed his lambs and sheep; wherein we have the true trial of all ministers who love Christ and apply his business."

THE KING'S DUTY AS HEAD OF THE CHURCH.—"I will call unto you, noble Prince, as Christ's anointed. Christ's little flock here in England, which he hath committed to your charge, which wander by many thousands, as sheep having no pastors; they cry all unto you for succour, to send them home their shepherds, to the end that for things corporal they may receive spiritual; and to let one pastor have one only competent living, which he may discharge. They call upon you to expel and drive away the great drones, which in idleness devour other men's labour; that, after St. Paul's rule, *he that will not labour, be not suffered to eat. The little ones have asked bread, &c.* Christ's little ones have hungered and called for the food of the Gospel a long time, and none there was to give it them. Now they cry unto you: take heed you turn not your ears from them, lest their blood be required at your hands also, and lest God turn his ears from you. Samuel spake unto Saul fearful words: *Because thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, the Lord hath, therefore, cast away thee from being king.* You are made of God a pastor, a pastor of pastors. When David was anointed king of Israel, God said, *Thou shalt feed my people Israel.* You must feed, and that is to see that all pastors do their duty. The eye of the master hath great strength. Your Grace's eye to look through your realm, and see that watchmen sleep not, shall be worth a great number of preachers. They call unto you not only to awake negligent pastors, but also to take away other enormities, which have followed in heaps upon these evils—pluralities and non-residents."

THE STATE OF RELIGION.—"The people are now, even as the Jews were at Christ's coming, altogether occupied in external holiness and culture, without any feeling of true holi-

ness, or of the true worship of God in spirit and truth, without which all other is mere hypocrisy. Many thousands know not what this meaneth; but seek Christ still among their kindred, in man's inventions, where they can never find him. As the Jews preferred man's traditions before God's commandments, even so is it now. Men think it a greater offence to break a fasting-day, or work upon a saint's day, than to abstain from profitable labour, and turn it to Bacchus's feasts, exercising more ungodliness that day than all the week, despising, or soon weary of God's word. All this, with much more, cometh through lack of preaching, as experience trieth where godly pastors be." . . . . "A thousand pulpits in England are covered with dust. Some have not had four sermons these fifteen or sixteen years, since friars left their limitations; and few of those were worthy the name of servants. Now, therefore, that your glory may be perfect, all men's expectation is, that whatsoever any flatterers, or enemies to God's word, should labour to the contrary for their own lucre, your Grace will take away all such lets and abuses as hinder the setting forth of God's most Holy Word, and withstand all such robbers as spoil his sanctuary; labouring to send pastors home to their flocks, to feed Christ's lambs and sheep, that all may be occupied in their heavenly Father's business. And for this your labour, as St. Peter saith, *When the Prince of all pastors shall appear, you shall receive an incorruptible crown of glory.*"

NATIONAL PROVOCATIONS.—"God hath cause greatly to be displeased with all estates. When every man should look upon his own faults to seek amendment, as it is a proverb lately sprung up, 'No man amendeth himself, every man seeketh to amend another,' and all the while nothing is amended. Gentlemen say, the commonalty live too well at ease, they grow every day to be gentlemen, and know not themselves; their horns must be cut shorter, by raising their rents, by fines, and by plucking away their pastures. The mean men, they murmur and grudge, and say the gentlemen have all, and there were never so many gentlemen and so little gentleness; and by their natural logic you shall hear them reason, how improperly these two conjugate, these yoke-fellows, gentlemen and gentleness, are banished so far asunder; and they lay all the misery of this commonwealth upon the

gentlemen's shoulders. But, alas! good Christians, this is not the way of amendment: *If ye bite and devour one another, as St. Paul saith, take heed lest ye be consumed one of another.*"

COVETOUSNESS.—"Covetousness hath cut away the large wings of charity, and plucketh all to herself; she is never satisfied; she hath chested all the old gold in England, and much of the new; she hath made that there was never more idolatry in England than at this day: but the idols are hid, they come not abroad. Alas, noble Prince, the images [of your ancestors, graven in gold, and yours also, contrary to your mind, are worshipped as gods, while the poor lively images of Christ perish in the streets through hunger and cold. This cometh when covetousness hath banished from amongst us Christian charity; when, like most unthankful children, we have forgotten Christ's last will, which he so often before his passion did inculcate, *Love one another.*"

TRUE RELIGION.—"As the Apostle saith, *Knowledge maketh a man to swell*; so that if a man hath studied the Scripture all his life long, and learned the whole Bible by heart, and yet have no love, he is ignorant of God's will. The poor man that never opened a book, if the love of God be shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost, surpasseth him in the knowledge of God's will. The godly Pembus, of whom we read in ecclesiastical history, when he was first taught the first verse of the 39th Psalm, *I have said I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not in my tongue*, refused a long time to take out a new lesson, judging his first lesson to be unlearned, till he could perfectly practise it by a holy conversation. So ought we always to make our account to have learned God's word, only when we have learned charity and obedience."

HEARING THE WORD.—"Would to God all that be in the court, that will not vouchsafe (having so many godly sermons) to come forth out of the hall into the chapel to hear them, would remember what a heavy stroke of God's vengeance hangeth over all their heads that contemn his Word; and over those, in all places, which had rather be idle, and many times ungodly occupied in wanton and wicked pastimes, than come to the church; profaning the Sabbath-day, appointed for the service of God, and the hearing of his Word, bestowing it more wickedly than many of the Gentiles. Yet if they would come to the sermons, though their hearts were not well-

disposed, God's Word might win them, as St. Augustine was won by the preaching of St. Ambrose, when he came only to hear his sweet voice and eloquence. O that they knew what dishonour they did to Christ, that esteem him so light, to prefer vain, nay, I say, wicked, things, to the hearing of his Holy Word. Are not these they, as St. Paul saith, *which tread under foot the Son of God, count the blood of his testament, wherein they are sanctified, an unholy thing, and do despite to the Spirit of grace?* O Lord, how canst thou hold thy hands from punishing this unthankfulness!"

CONCLUSION.—“Let us all, then, from the highest to the lowest, pray, with one accord, that God may soften and prepare our hearts with meekness, and humility, and thankfulness, to embrace his Gospel and his Holy Word; which shall instruct us in his holy will, and teach us to know his business, every man in his vocation,—*that*, as St. Paul saith, *every man may give attendance to themselves, and to the flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers, to feed the congregation of God, which he hath purchased with his blood*, that all ravenous wolves may be turned to good shepherds. So that Christ's ministers may enjoy the portion assigned for the gospel; that all magistrates and governors may give their whole study to the public weal, and not to their private wealth; that they may be maintainers of justice, and punishers of wrong; and that all inferiors may live in due obedience, meekly contenting themselves, every one in their vocation, without murmuring or grudging; that under Christ and our noble prince, his minister here on earth, we all being knit together with Christian charity, the bond of perfection, may so fasten our eyes upon God's Word, that it may continually be a lantern to our feet, to guide our journey through the desert and dark wilderness of this world; that our eyes be never so blinded with shadows of worldly things, as to make us embrace life, deceitful and temporal felicity, for that which is true, stedfast, and everlasting; that this candle, which shineth now, as St. Paul saith, *as through a glass darkly*, when that which is imperfect shall be taken away, may present us to that clear light which never is shadowed with any darkness; that we may behold that blessed sight of the glorious Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom be all praise, all honour and glory, world without end.”

The honest zeal of Bernard Gilpin, on this occasion, obtained for him the permanent favour of two great men of very different characters. The one was the wise and virtuous Sir Francis Russell, afterwards earl of Bedford, the other the unprincipled Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, who courted good men for the credit of their acquaintance.

Secretary Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh, also took notice of him, and obtained for him a general license of preaching, a privilege granted to but few, and to them on account of approved worth.

During his stay in London he frequently visited his mother's uncle, Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of Durham, who was then in disgrace, and a prisoner in the tower.

Mr. Gilpin, the biographer, gives the following account of this prelate, and of the cause of his imprisonment. "During the reign of Henry the eighth, Tunstal had lived in great credit at court, and was esteemed a man of abilities, a good scholar, and an able statesman. His sovereign knew his worth, advanced him to the see of Durham, employed him much at home and abroad, and at his death left him, during the minority, one of the regents of the kingdom. But in the succeeding reign his interest lessened. He was not altogether satisfied with the changes daily made in religion; and though he was enough inclined to give up some of the grosser tenets of popery, yet in general he favoured it, and was always in great esteem with the Romish party. This occasioned their making him privy to some treasonable designs, which, in his cautious way, he neither concurred in nor betrayed. The plot miscarried; the bishop was indeed suspected, but nothing appeared. Some time afterwards, when the duke of Somerset's papers were seized, an unlucky letter was found which fully detected him. He was called immediately before the council, tried by a special commission, found guilty, deprived, and committed."

Having despatched the business which called him to London, Mr. Gilpin hastened to Norton; but he soon



began to regret that he had undertaken the spiritual charge of a parish. He saw, indeed, the unscriptural character of popery, and he preached forcibly against vice, and recommended virtuous conduct; but he was still scarcely settled in some of his religious opinions, and therefore considered that he had engaged too soon in the responsible office of a pastor.

These thoughts at length made him quite unhappy, and he wrote to his uncle Tunstal an account of the distress of his mind. The bishop, who worthily respected these conscientious scruples, gave him this good advice, —That his first care ought to be to fix his religion. He further counselled him to go abroad, and spend a year or two in Germany, France, and Holland, for the purpose of conversing with the most eminent members of both religions.

This proposition exactly accorded with his own wishes; but it was not easy to devise from what source means should be supplied for his travelling and residence abroad. The bishop suggested that his benefice would contribute something towards his maintenance, and promised to supply the rest; but Gilpin's notions of the pastoral care were so strict, that he refused to derive any emolument from a charge of which he did not perform the duties; and, therefore, having found a friend "whom he knew to be religious, and a scholar, and one that would not be idle in the function of the holy ministry," he resigned the vicarage of Norton into his hands.

When the bishop heard of this resignation, he was much displeased with his nephew, and reproached him when he came to London to receive his last orders, and to embark. "I tell thee this beforehand," quoth the bishop, "that by these courses thou wilt die a beggar." Gilpin answered, that he had given up the parsonage because he could not keep it in his hands with any peace of conscience. Tunstal, not attending to this remark, went on to say that a dispensation might easily have been obtained. to which Gilpin replied, "The tempter will not

be restrained by any bonds of dispensation from labouring in mine absence the destruction of my people committed to my charge ; and I fear that, when God shall call me to an account of my stewardship, it will not serve my turn to make answer that I was dispensed withal, whiles the tempter made havoc of my flock." His uncle did not see the force of this consideration ; but he could not help feeling an increased respect for one who had so tender a regard for his conscience. Having taken leave of the bishop, Gilpin embarked for Holland, where he first paid a visit to his brother George, who was studying civil law at Mechlin, preparatory to being employed in diplomatic affairs.

A few weeks after, he proceeded to Louvain, a town celebrated for the elegance of its buildings, and for the beauty of the surrounding country. Mr. Gilpin's chief attraction was the university, in which some of the most eminent divines on both sides of the question resided ; whom he found ready to discuss the points in dispute with singular freedom. This was precisely the object for which Gilpin had resigned his living and quitted his country ; he soon became acquainted with the most distinguished scholars, and availed himself of the public readings and disputations by attending them all, taking full notes of what he heard, continually weighing his own opinions by the arguments brought forward, and privately communicating his doubts and difficulties to his friends for their consideration and solution.

Being thus intent upon the discovery of truth, he began to have clearer and fuller notions of the momentous doctrines of the Reformation, his faith was confirmed, and he felt more comfort in the views of divine truth to which God had conducted him.

Meanwhile circumstances were materially changed in England. The good king Edward died, the bigot Mary ascended the throne, and the protestants were thrown into great dismay. The tidings of these events, however, were accompanied by some agreeable intelligence, namely, that

Tunstal was again at liberty, and restored to his bishopric. Soon after this, Mr. Gilpin received a letter from his brother George, requesting him to hasten to Mechlin, because he had an important communication to make to him. On complying with his brother's wishes, he found that the object in question was to tell him that their uncle, the bishop, had offered him a valuable benefice in the diocese of Durham, and to persuade him to accept it. His brother George reminded him of his need of a maintenance abroad, of the danger of offending the bishop, and of the probability that the prelate's old age would not be much longer protracted, and that in him Bernard's best friend and patron would die.

To all his brother's arguments Bernard Gilpin returned one answer,—That his conscience would not suffer him to comply. And when George urged that the living might be well taken care of in his absence, and that besides, a bishop not only approved but advised the step, he replied, “If a bishop's judgment was to be the rule of my actions, I should follow your advice, but as I am to stand or fall by my own, the case is different.”

However, upon his return to Louvain, thinking that it would be respectful to communicate his motives to his uncle, he wrote to him the following letter:—

Right honourable and my singular good master,—My duty remembered in most humble manner, pleaseth it your honour to be informed, that of late my brother wrote to me, that in any wise I must meet him at Mechlin; for he must debate with me very urgent affairs, such as could not be dispatched by writing. When we met, I perceived it was nothing else but to see if he could persuade me to take a benefice, and to continue in study at the university; which, if I had known to be the cause of his sending for me, I should not have needed to interrupt my study to meet him; for I have so long debated that matter with learned men, especially with the holy prophets, and most ancient and godly writers since Christ's time, that I trust, so long as I have to live, never to burden my conscience with having a benefice, and lying from it. My brother said that your lordship had written to him that you would

gladly bestow one on me; and that your lordship thought (and so did other of my friends, of which he was one) that I was much too scrupulous in that point. Whereunto I always say, if I be too scrupulous, (as I cannot think that I am,) the matter is such, that I had rather my conscience were therein a great deal too strait, than a little too large: for I am seriously persuaded that I shall never offend God by refusing to have a benefice and lie from it, so long as I judge not evil of others: which, I trust, I shall not, but rather pray God daily, that all who have cures may discharge their office in his sight, as may tend most to his glory, and the profit of his church. He replied against me, that your lordship would give me no benefice but what you would see discharged in my absence as well, or better than I could discharge it myself. Whereunto I answered, that I would be sorry, if I thought not there were many thousands in England more able to discharge a cure than I find myself; and therefore I desire they may both take the cure and the profit also, that they may be able to feed the body and the soul both, as I think all pastors are bounden. As for me, I can never persuade myself to take the profit, and let another take the pains: for if he should teach and preach as faithfully as ever St. Austin did, yet should I not think myself discharged. And if I should strain my conscience herein, and strive with it to remain here, or in any other university, with such a condition, the unquietness of my conscience would not suffer me to profit in study at all.

I am here, at this present, I thank God, very well placed for study among a company of learned men, joining to the friars minors; having free access at all times to a notable library among the friars, men both well learned and studious. I have entered acquaintance with divers of the best learned in the town; and for my part was never more desirous to learn in all my life than at this present. Wherefore I am bold, knowing your lordship's singular good will towards me, to open my mind thus rudely and plainly unto your goodness, most humbly beseeching you to suffer me to live without charge, that I may study quietly.

And whereas I know well your lordship is careful how I should live, if God should call your lordship, being now aged, I desire you let not that care trouble you: for, if I had no

other shift, I could get a lectureship, I know, shortly, either in this university, or at best in some abbey hereby, where I should not lose my time; and this kind of life, if God be pleased, I desire before any benefice. And thus I pray Christ always to have your lordship in his blessed keeping.

By your lordship's humble scholar  
and chaplain,

*Louvain, Nov. 22, 1554.*

BERNARD GILPIN.

The bishop, far from being offended by this letter, admired the piety and firmness of a man who could thus sacrifice his private interest to a sense of duty.

During the remainder of his stay in the Low Countries, Bernard Gilpin rendered many services to the fugitive protestants from England, who, finding their lives in danger in their own country, were taking refuge in the towns of Germany and Holland, and seeking to obtain such employments as might furnish them with the means of subsistence. They were kindly received by the people of the country, and above all by the duke of Wirtemberg. Mr. Gilpin could afford but little from his own scanty resources, but having a large acquaintance he was enabled to recommend many of his brethren and fellow-countrymen to the notice of valuable friends.

From Louvain Bernard Gilpin made frequent excursions to Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, and other towns, where he occasionally spent a few weeks in the society of distinguished men, both papists and protestants; always anxious, on those occasions, to listen rather than to speak. Thus he improved in religious knowledge, and made himself master of the great controversy which then agitated the christian world. After two years he removed to Paris, where he lodged with Vascosan, an eminent printer, to whom he had been recommended by his friends in the Netherlands. This learned man showed him great attention, and introduced him to the most considerable men in that city.

Here he saw the popish religion in its greatest deformity. The people were immersed in superstition, and the

priesthood did not hesitate to avow to him how little truth was their concern.

He remained altogether three years abroad; during which time nearly all his doubts and difficulties were removed, his conviction of the necessity of a reformation was confirmed, and his attachment to the doctrines of the reformers increased and strengthened.

The only important doctrine upon which his mind was still unsettled, was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: he had not yet made up his mind as to the sense in which our Lord's words, *This is my body,—This is my blood*, ought to be understood. He appears to have given up the doctrine of transubstantiation; but, "as touching the real presence," he says, in a letter, "I found not myself fully resolved. I supposed that therein lay hid a mystery above my capacity . . . . But I hoped that God would pardon mine ignorance, and in time bring me to a greater light of knowledge\*."

On all other material points, we may consider him as having embraced the ancient faith of the church of Christ, which it was the object of the reformers to revive and restore. And, since his mind had now emerged from that unsettled state which occasioned him so much disquietude, he resolved to return to England, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, who entreated him not to expose himself to the cruel persecutions, by which so many of his countrymen were compelled to fly for their lives from their native land.

It will now be interesting to the reader to meet with Bernard Gilpin's own review of the progress of his con-

\* His uncle, Bishop Tunstal, wrote a book on the Eucharist, which was printed in Paris during Bernard Gilpin's stay in that city, and under his inspection. In this work the bishop candidly acknowledged the novelty of the name and doctrine of transubstantiation, and freely censured the declaration of Pope Innocent the Third, that the belief of that article was necessary to salvation. Gilpin was accused of having corrupted the work in its passage through the press, but he produced letters from the bishop which completely refuted the charge.

version from popery, as it was communicated, by letter, to his brother George, some years afterwards.

You require me to write, in a long discourse, the manner of my conversion from superstition to the light of the gospel; which, I think you know, was not in a few years. As time and health will permit, I will hide nothing from you, confessing my own shame, and yet hoping, with the apostle, *I have obtained mercy because I did it ignorantly.*

In king Edward's time I was brought to dispute against some assertions of Peter Martyr; although I have ever been given to eschew, so far as I might, controversies and disputations. Being but a young student, and finding my groundwork not so sure as I supposed, I went first to the bishop of Durham (Cuthbert Tunstal), who told me that "Innocent the Third was much overseen, to make transubstantiation an article of faith." He found great fault with the pope for indulgences and other things.

After, I went to Dr. Redman, in whom I had great trust for the fame of his virtue and learning. He told me, "The communion-book was very godly, and agreeable to the gospel." These things made me to muse.

Afterwards one of the fellows of the Queen's college told me, he heard Dr. Chedsey say among his friends, "The protestants must yield to us in granting the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and we must yield to them in the opinion of transubstantiation; so shall we accord."

Dr. Weston made a long sermon in defence of the communion in both kinds.

Mr. Morgan told me, that Mr. Ware, a man most famous both for life and learning, had told him, before his death, that "The chief sacrifice of the church of God was the sacrifice of thanksgiving." This was his answer when I desired to know what might be said for the sacrifice of the mass.

The best learned bishops of this realm, at that time, withstood the supremacy of the pope, both with words and writing.

Mr. Harding, coming newly from Italy, in a long and notable sermon, did so lively set forth, and paint in their true colours, the friars, and unlearned bishops assembled at Trent in council, that he much diminished in me, and many others, the confidence we had in general councils.

All these things, and many more, gave me occasion to search both the Scriptures and ancient fathers; whereby I began to see many great abuses, and some enormities, used and maintained in popery; and to like well of sundry reformations on the other side.

While I was thus busied, I was drawn by certain friends to accept a benefice, being very unwilling thereunto. If I offended God in taking such a charge before I was better learned, and better resolved in religion, I cry God mercy; and I doubt not but I have found mercy in his sight.

[Before I was entered upon that parsonage, I preached, before king Edward at Greenwich, a sermon which had approbation of many good men.

The lord treasurer, being at that time secretary, obtained for me, from the king, a licence as a general preacher throughout the kingdom, so long as the king lived, which time fell out to be not much above the space of half a year\*.]

Afterwards, in three years' space, I saw so much gross idolatry at Paris, Antwerp, and other places, that made me to mislike more and more the popish doctrines; especially because the learned men disallowed image-worship in their schools, and suffered it so grossly in their churches.

As I could, with small knowledge, I examined the mass: the greatest fault I then found was too much reverence and gross worshipping of the gaping people; because I believed not transubstantiation. Likewise my conscience was grieved at the receiving of the priest alone. Yet at length I said mass a few times as closely as I could.

I reasoned with certain that were learned of my acquaintance, why there was no reformation of these gross enormities about images, relics, pilgrimages, buying mass and trentals, with many other things, which, in king Edward's time, the catholics (so called) did not only grant to be far amiss, but also promised that the church should be reformed, if ever the authority came into their hands again. When I asked when this reformation was to begin, in hope whereof I was the more willing to return from Paris, I was answered, "We may not grant to the ignorant people, that any of these things hath been amiss: if we do, they will straight infer other things may be amiss as well as these, and still go further and further." This grieved me,

\* These paragraphs are added from Carleton's Life.



and made me seek for quietness in God's word: no where else I could find any stay . . . . .

My nature hath evermore fled controversy so much as I could. My delight and desire hath been to preach Christ, and our salvation by Him, in simplicity and truth, and to comfort myself with the sweet promises of the gospel, and in prayer.

After describing himself as being "daily more edified, comforted and confirmed in reading the holy Scriptures," he thus concludes:

And this I praise God for, that when I was most troubled, and weakest of all, my faith in God's mercy was so strong, that if I should then have departed this life, I had, and have, a sure trust, that none of these doubts would have hindered my salvation. I hold fast one sentence of St. Paul, *I have obtained mercy, in that I did it in ignorance*; and another of Job, *If the Lord put me to death, yet will I trust in him*. Yet have I prayed God's mercy many times for all these offences, infirmities, and ignorances; and so I will do still, so long as I have to live in this world.

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## CHAPTER II.

### COMPLETE CONVICTION OF PROTESTANT TRUTH.

He was the freeman whom the truth made free:  
 Who first of all the bands of Satan broke;  
 Who broke the bands of sin, and for his soul,  
 In spite of fools, consulted seriously;  
 In spite of fashion, persevered in good;  
 In spite of wealth or poverty, upright.—POLLOK.

A PROTESTANT clergyman, more particularly a convert from popery, could have little prospect of peace, in returning to England during the persecuting days of queen Mary. But the diocese of Durham, to which Mr. Gilpin hastened, was a district in which, if any where, liberty of conscience was likely to prevail. Far removed from the metropolis, and

in many parts difficult of access in those times, it was also particularly suited for his retreat, as being then under the superintendence of his uncle Tunstal. That prelate, being liberated from prison and restored to his diocese, exercised his office with great humanity, and sheltered the protestants from the storm with which bigotry assailed them, instead of exposing them, as he was desired, to its pitiless fury\*.

The bishop received him with great friendship, and after a very short interval conferred upon him the archdeaconry of Durham, to which the rectory of Easington was annexed. It has been supposed that Tunstal advised his nephew to return home, intending to confer this preferment upon him.

Upon removing to his parish, the new rector found it in a deplorable state, and set himself to labour for its amendment with firmness and zeal; he encouraged virtue and reproved vice, publicly and privately, and conscientiously preached according to his convictions of divine truth.

In entering upon the duties of his archdeaconry, he found that he had great corruption to contend with. The reformation had scarcely extended to those parts, and the ecclesiastics were generally ignorant, dissolute in their habits, and neglectful of the pastoral care; whether character or talents were considered, the church in every part of England was wretchedly supplied with parochial ministers; mediocrity was eminence; and Fuller is justified in his quaint remark, that "a rush candle seemed a torch, where no brighter light was ever seen before."

Bernard Gilpin deplored this state of things. "The insatiable covetousness," he says, "joined with the pride,

\* Fuller says;—"The bishoprick of Durham had halcyon dayes of ease and quiet, under God, and good Cuthbert Tonstall the bishop thereof. A learned man, of a sweet disposition, rather devout to follow his own, than cruel to persecute the conscience of others."—*Church History of Britain*. Book viii.

carnal liberty, and other vices, which reign at this time in all estates, but especially among us priests, who ought to be the salt of the earth, breaks me many a sleep." Nor was he the man to sit down in pensive sorrow, when self-denying exertion on his part might work some amendment. He had a solemn feeling, that he was in some measure chargeable with those vices which he had it in his power to rebuke or repress. Difficulties and dangers could not deter him from discharging the duties of his function; he therefore resolved to remonstrate with the clergy against every enormity, and, as far as possible, to effect its correction.

At his visitations in particular, and at other clerical meetings, this pious archdeacon spoke out against prevailing abuses and corruptions. He censured the idleness, ignorance, and irregular conduct of the clergy, and showed them what serious injury they were doing to religion. Non-residence and pluralities were also constant subjects of his reproof; he pointed out how inconsistent they were with the original design of endowments, and would remark that "while three parts out of four of the clergy were picking what they could get off a common, the rest were growing wanton with stall-feeding."

The bishop, perceiving that his nephew was thus spreading a net to entrap himself, and apprehensive of the danger which he seemed to be courting in those days of persecution, warned him to be a little more cautious of giving offence; but Bernard Gilpin felt that, although the common maxims of worldly prudence were against him, the Scriptures furnished examples of holy men who freely resisted sin in times of danger, and their steps he determined to follow. If religion might be promoted or impiety repressed, fear could not prevent him from making the effort, and he deemed his office to be a sacred trust, which he was bound to use to the best of his ability for the public good.

The bishop, however, had not erred in anticipating violent hostility to the zealous archdeacon, and that efforts

would be made to procure his removal from that office. He was maligned as "an enemy of the church, and a scandalizer of the clergy;" while some, to use his own words, "found great fault for that he preached repentance and salvation by Christ, and did not make whole sermons (as they did) about transubstantiation, purgatory, holy water, images, prayers to saints, and such like." Articles of accusation against him were drawn up, and a formal prosecution instituted before the bishop by some of the offended clergy. But Tunstal managed the cause with so much prudence and skill, that he contrived to acquit the accused with a good grace, telling the prosecutors that "he was afraid they had been too forward in their zeal for religion, and that heresy was such a crime as no man ought to be charged with but upon the strongest proofs."

But the matter was not so easily set at rest. His accusers next attempted to poison the public mind against him, propagating malicious reports, and putting evil constructions upon his words and conduct. And, at length, overpowered by the duties which he felt himself bound to discharge as an archdeacon and a parochial minister, and weary of the perverseness and malignity with which his efforts were resisted, he acquainted his uncle, "That he must resign either his archdeaconry or his parish; that he would with the greatest readiness do his duty in which soever his lordship thought him best qualified for: but that he was not able to do it in both." "Have I not repeatedly told you," said the bishop, "that you will die a beggar? Depend upon it you will, if you suffer your conscience to raise such unreasonable scruples. The archdeaconry and the living cannot be separated: the income of the former is not a support without that of the latter. I found them united, and am determined to leave them so."

There can be little doubt, that he made his election to resign both, for soon after this occurrence it appears that he was residing with the bishop as one of his chaplains, without any office in the church.

But there also he was assailed by the papists, and even the bishop's other chaplains provoked him to controversy, in order that they might elicit matter of accusation against him. He conducted himself, however, discreetly, neither offending his conscience by undue compliances, nor exposing himself needlessly to the dangers which surrounded him.

Bishop Carleton relates that "at a certain time the bishop's chaplains had some discourse with Gilpin about Luther, and that one of them asked him what he thought about Luther and his writings. Gilpin confessed that he had not read the writings of Luther. 'I propounded unto myself,' said he, 'this course; first of all to search the Scriptures diligently, and to be acquainted with the expositions of the Fathers upon them. As for the writings of the modern divines, I have only looked upon them; howbeit, I refuse them not when and where they agree with the ancient.' One of them commended Mr. Gilpin's resolution, and said, 'It would be well with the church if all men would duly respect the writings of the Fathers; for then the upstart opinions of late writers would not so much disturb the church, such as are these of Luther.' But Gilpin answered, 'If modern divines, and late writers produce the opinions of the ancient Fathers, the novelty of the men is not to be disdained, but the antiquity of the doctrine is to be revered.'"

They then fell into conversation upon the doctrine of the eucharist, and he traced out before them how the faith of the church of Rome had changed from time to time respecting transubstantiation, "whereas, the catholic religion," he said, "abhorreth invented alterations in matters of faith."

All this passed in an under tone of voice, for the bishop was sitting before the fire in the same chamber; but observing that they were in close conversation, the prelate leaned his chair backwards and hearkened to the discussion, and then rising from his seat, turned round to the

chaplains and said, "Come, come, let him alone, for he hath more learning than you all."

Not long after, Tunstal bestowed upon Mr. Gilpin the valuable rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, a very large parish about seven miles from Durham, containing fourteen villages, in which popery and superstition still held undisturbed dominion, and vital religion was almost unknown. The vineyard had been utterly neglected, popery appeared in its worst garb, idle ceremonies were esteemed as the essential parts of Christianity, and so completely were the people excluded from the means of better information, that in that part of the kingdom, king Edward's proclamations for a change of worship, had not even been heard of at the time of that prince's death. Soon after, he refused a stall in the cathedral of Durham, alleging, that he feared he had already more wealth than he could give a good account of.

Unkindness and bitterness still pursued him. The popish clergy, accounting his holy and useful life to be a reproach to their own slothfulness, employed emissaries to collect charges against him, and cautiously as he had behaved (more cautiously, he afterwards thought than was right\*), he was once more brought before the bishop. But again, as before, he was acquitted.

His enemies, thus failing to procure his death by means of bishop Tunstal, in the district where the light of his good works shone brightest, next turned their eyes towards one whose hands were already imbued with the blood of many martyrs. They thought that Bonner, the bishop of London, would eagerly fall upon so honoured a victim, and their expectations were not disappointed. He received their thirty-two articles of accusation with great readiness, paid a tribute of praise to the zeal which they manifested for religion, and promised that in a

\* He writes thus to his brother: "After queen Mary's death, I began to utter my mind more plainly: before (I must needs confess my weakness), ignorance, and fear of enemies, had somewhat restrained me."

fortnight the pastor of Houghton should be carried to the stake.

It was a time of great alarm to all who loved Mr. Gilpin. His friends in London, hearing that his doom was decreed, despatched a messenger with all speed to warn him to fly for his life. He received the tidings with the composure which became one whose conversation was in heaven, and who was ready to leave his earthly tabernacle at whatever time, and by whatever means, his Lord might choose. He considered that it was his duty to promote his Master's glory, that if the sacrifice of his life might advance it, he ought not to refuse to die; whereas, if God would be more honoured by his life than his death, he was confident that an Almighty arm would be stretched out to protect him.

The messenger, therefore, had no sooner executed his commission, than Mr. Gilpin called for a familiar domestic, William Airay, his almoner and steward, and laying his hand upon his shoulder, said, "At length they have prevailed against me; I am accused to the bishop of London, from whom there will be no escaping. God forgive their malice, and grant me strength to undergo the trial!" He then told Airay to prepare a long garment\*, such as he thought might be suitable for one who was about to follow the footsteps of other witnesses to the truth of the Gospel, "And make it ready with all speed," he said, "for I know not how soon I may be called upon to wear it." During the few solemn days which followed, he used to put on this martyr's robe every day, as a memorial of the trial which he expected to endure.

In the mean while his friends observed, with intense apprehension, the increase of his danger as time advanced, and besought him to hasten from the cruel hands which were preparing to slay him. But he answered their affectionate entreaties by requesting them to cease from

\* Fuller calls it a *long shroud*, not for his *winding* but his *burning sheet*.

such importunity, since his purpose was fixed; and if it were not so, the event was not the less sure, for he was persuaded that his every movement was observed. "Besides," he would ask, "how can you imagine that I should prefer the miserable life of an exile, before the joyful death of a martyr? I would not indeed voluntarily throw myself into the hands of my enemies, but I cannot swerve from the path of duty; and if danger meets me there, I have the courage to face it."

A few days after, Bonner's emissaries apprehended him; but God had more labours for him to perform, and therefore wrought out for him a providential deliverance. We are told, that as he joureyed to London he broke his leg, and was detained upon the road by that accident. He had frequently observed to his keepers by the way, that nothing befalls us but what is intended for our good; and when this calamity occurred to him, they inquired with a sneer, "Whether he thought that his broken leg was so intended?" He meekly answered that he had no doubt it was. And a merciful Providence verified his words in a most remarkable manner; for, in point of fact, before Mr. Gilpin reached London, queen Mary died, the snare was broken, and he was delivered\*.

Thus rescued, like David, by the arm of the Most High, out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, he returned to Houghton through crowds of joyful people, who lifted up the voice of thanksgiving to God for having thus restored to them his servant.

Upon the accession of Elizabeth, when several of the bishops were deprived of their sees for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, the eminent character of Bernard

\* That event set many other captives at liberty. Fuller says, "Miraculous was God's providence in protecting many which were condemned to the stake. It is part of the praise of his power to *hear the groaning of the prisoner; to loose those that are appointed to death.*—Ps. cii. 20. In David's expression, *There was but a step between them and death* (1 Sam. xx. 3): which step also had been stepped, had not one instantly stepped aside; I mean the seasonable death of queen Mary." *Church History.*



Gilpin distinguished him as a fit person to fill one of the vacant bishoprics. "Glory and reputation," says bishop Carleton, "which followeth him that flieth from it, and flieth from him that has pursued it, had made the name of Mr. Gilpin most renowned, insomuch that he was not only honoured among the fathers of the clergy, but amongst all the nobility of the kingdom." The queen nominated him to the see of Carlisle, at the suggestion of his friend the earl of Bedford; but, as soon as he heard of it, he sent a messenger with a letter to the earl, expressing his great obligations to her majesty and his lordship, for their favourable sentiments, but, at the same time, excusing himself from accepting the preferment designed for him. And, notwithstanding the earnest wishes of Dr. Edwin Sandys, bishop of Worcester, and other friends, he could not be induced to alter this resolution.

The following letter on this occasion, from bishop Sandys to Bernard Gilpin, is found in Fuller's *Church History*.

My much and worthily respected Cousin,—Having regard unto the good of the church of Christ, rather than to your ease, I have by all the good means I could, been careful to have this charge imposed upon you, which may be both an honour to yourself, and a benefit to the church of Christ. My true report concerning you hath so prevailed with the queen's majesty, that she hath nominated you bishop of Carlisle.

I am not ignorant that your inclination rather delighteth in the peaceable tranquillity of a private life. But if you look upon the estate of the church of England with a respective eye, you cannot, with a good conscience, refuse this charge imposed upon you; so much the less because it is in such a place as wherein no man is found fitter than yourself to deserve well of the church. In which respect I charge you before God, and as you shall answer to God herein, that, setting all excuses aside, you refuse not to assist your country and to do service to the church of God to the uttermost of your power. In the meanwhile I give you to understand,

that the said bishopric is to be left untouched, neither shall anything of it be diminished (as in some others it is a custom) but you shall receive the bishopric entire, as Dr. Oglethorpe hath left it. Wherefore exhorting and charging you to be obedient to God's call herein, and not to neglect the duty of our own calling, I commend both yourself, and the whole business to the divine providence.

Your kinsman and brother,

EDWIN WORCESTER.

Being asked whether any scruples of conscience had dictated this refusal, he answered that in some measure they had. "The case is truly this," he said, "if any other bishopric besides Carlisle had been offered to me, I might possibly have accepted it; but, in that diocese, I have so many friends and acquaintance of whom I have not the best opinion, that I must either connive at many irregularities, or draw upon myself so much hatred, that I should be less able to do good there than any one else."

About a year after, the provostship of Queen's college, Oxford, was offered to him, as being an "honest, learned, godly, and eligible person;" but that office he also refused, satisfied with his living of Houghton, and persuaded that it was the sphere in which, by God's assistance, his talents would be most profitably employed. There his mind enjoyed that peace which the world is unable to bestow or destroy, while those distresses and alarms, which it has power to create, were abated or removed.

We have now attended Bernard Gilpin in his escape from the corruptions of popery, to a faith built solely upon the word of God; we have seen his deliverances from danger in the persecuting reign of Mary, and his arrival at a period in which he might fearlessly carry on the work of the ministry. We are next about to consider more distinctly some leading features of his character. But, lest a suspicion should be lurking in our minds that in those evil days, and amidst so much angry contention, he had imbibed a spirit of religious dissension, let us

pause for a moment, to consider his own contradiction of that injurious thought.

“My nature hath evermore fled controversy so much as I could. My delight and desire hath been to preach Christ, and our salvation by Him, in simplicity and truth; and to comfort myself with the sweet promises of the Gospel, and in prayer.”

These were the settled feelings of his mind; and we are further informed, that he paid no regard to matters of mere speculation, that he looked upon a holy life as the true end of religion, and that the religious knowledge to which he aspired was such as would best assist his growth in piety and holiness of living.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### THE PASTOR.

Who is God's chosen priest?  
He who on Christ stands waiting day and night,

Who hath learned lowliness  
From his Lord's cradle, patience from his cross,  
Whom poor men's eyes and hearts consent to bless,  
To whom, for Christ, the world is loss;

Who both in agony  
Hath seen Him, and in glory; and in both  
Own'd Him divine, and yielded, nothing loth,  
Body and soul, to live and die,  
In witness of his Lord,

In humble following of his Saviour dear.—*Christian Year.*

At a period when few models of pastoral watchfulness and industry existed in England, and those few were chiefly to be found far away in the southern counties, Bernard Gilpin, taking the word of God for his guide, became one of the brightest patterns of the ministerial character which have ever shone upon the world.

We have already noticed some striking proofs that

he entertained solemn apprehensions of the responsible nature of that holy office. Not satisfied with being strictly virtuous, sincere and devout, and anxious for the welfare of souls, he had resigned his living of Norton under an impression that his views of Scriptural doctrine were not yet sufficiently clear and settled. And, when he had drunk of the streams of religious knowledge which were opened to him abroad, and returned to exercise a charge of superintendence as archdeacon, he used strenuous efforts to awaken others to a perception of those responsibilities of the Christian ministry, by which his own heart was so deeply affected.

In the discharge of his parochial duties, he carried one broad maxim into effect, with a scrupulously tender conscience,—that he was bound to devote all his talents unceasingly to the glory of God, and the good of his parish.

Acting upon this principle, Gilpin freely sacrificed his own comfort and convenience whenever occasion required it. he withdrew himself from the pleasures of life, and from the enjoyment of those studious and retired pursuits which, as we are told, were most congenial to his taste. He was impelled to this devotedness, not by any motive of worldly praise, for his station was one in which a decent formality would have gained him esteem; nor was it that he had to satisfy the craving desire of a people hungering for the bread of life, on the contrary he had to create an appetite as well as to open the pastures; but he thus fully exercised the work of his ministry, in order that, on the confines of eternal glory, he might render his account with joy.

The scene of his labours, when he first entered upon them, has been already described as a moral waste; it was in so wild a state, that any one, not possessed of great energy of character, would have despaired of working a reformation; and nothing but the most unremitting industry could have succeeded in effecting it. Nothing worthy of the name of Christianity had been cultivated

there, and superstition and ungodliness prevailed together. But he put his hand to the plough, and God was with him to prosper his labours. Being the first preacher of the doctrines of the Reformation whose voice had been heard at Houghton, he declined no exertion which seemed requisite to implant its vital principles, and to promote their fruitfulness.

His first aim was to secure the confidence and affection of the people. Many of the papers which were preserved by his family, testified his sense of the great importance of that object; and in truth he soon made his parishioners feel that their new minister was their sincere friend. His demeanour was frank and engaging, he condescended to their capacities and the limited boundaries of their knowledge, treated their scruples with respect, and made charitable allowances for their faults.

He had so happy a way of adapting his instructions to the apprehensions of his congregation, that his preaching was often attended with very surprising effects; of which an instance is recorded with regard to a sermon which he delivered on honesty. A man who was present, struck with the warmth and earnestness with which he spoke, stood up in the midst of a large congregation, and gave glory to God by freely confessing his offences, and making hearty professions of repentance.

In the private functions of the pastoral care Gilpin was unremitting in his exertions for the spiritual benefit of his flock. He invited his parishioners to communicate all their doubts and difficulties to him, promising a serious and patient attention; he gave assistance and encouragement in the most engaging manner to those whom he thought well-disposed; and even his reproofs were like the kind remonstrances of a friend. To all he threw his doors open, that they might bring to him their spiritual sorrows or wants; wisdom as well as piety were manifested by his treatment of each case; and those who had no concern about themselves found that he watched for their souls.

But while his care and diligence embraced the whole population of his parish of every age, his chief hopes of success arose from his ministrations amongst the young. He felt that it was a far more promising and far easier task to train up a child in the way that he should go, than to extricate the full-grown man from his accustomed paths. For such reasons he established a free-school in the parish; a measure which we, who live in an age of general education, cannot justly appreciate, until we have considered that he had not the stimulus of surrounding example. But, whether they attended his school or not, his eye rested with an anxious interest upon the rising generation, and he studied to teach them that the ways of religion were ways of pleasantness, and to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

The afflicted members of the flock also partook largely of his sympathy and tender care; and when at length the infirmities of age prevented him from attending in person to administer to their consolation, he was accustomed to write beautiful and tender letters to soothe their anguish, and to remind them wherefore their troubles were sent. One of these letters has been preserved to this day, and may enable us to judge of the general tenour of others, and of his conversation in the house of mourning. It is as follows:—

After my most due commendations, I beseech you, gentle Mrs. Carr, diligently to call to mind how mercifully God hath dealt with you in many respects. He hath given you a gentleman of worship to be your husband; one that I know loveth you dearly, as a christian man should love his wife. And by him God hath blessed you with a goodly family of children, which both you and your husband must take to be the favourable and free gift of God. But, good Mrs. Carr, you must understand, that both that gift of God, and all others, and we ourselves, are in his hands: He takes what He will, whom He will, and when He will; and whomsoever He taketh, in youth or in age, we must fully persuade ourselves that He ordereth all things for the best. We may not murmur, or think much at any of his doings: but must learn to speak from our hearts

the petition of the Lord's Prayer, *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven*. It is unto this holy obedience that St. Peter calleth all Christians, saying, *Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God*. This godly submission did cause the holy patriarch Job, when it pleased God to take from him not only one, but all his children, seven brethren and their three sisters, upon one day, never to grieve himself with what God had done; but meekly to say, *The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord*. And here I would have you, good Mrs. Carr, to consider, how small cause you have to mourn, or fall into a deep sorrow, in comparison of the holy patriarch. God hath taken from you only one young daughter, and hath left you a goodly family of children, which, I trust, with good education, will prove a blessed comfort to you. This example of Job, and other examples in Holy Scripture, being written (as the Apostle saith) for our admonition, I must needs declare you to be worthy of great blame, if you continue any space in such great sorrow and heaviness, as I hear you take for your young daughter. St. Peter saith, that Christ Jesus suffered for us most cruel torments, and last of all, a most cruel death, *to leave us an example that all that believe in Him should follow his blessed steps*: that is, to bear his cross, to be armed with all patience, whensoever we lose any thing that we love in this world. And the same Apostle saith, *Seeing Christ hath suffered for us in his body, all you that are Christians must be armed with the same thought*. Furthermore, the Scripture saith, that unto us it is given not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. And St. Paul, in the 8th to the Romans, hath a most comfortable sentence to all that will learn to suffer with him; and a most fearful sentence to all those that refuse to suffer with him, and to bear his cross. *The Spirit (saith he) beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God; and if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and fellow-heirs with Christ, it followeth, if so be that we suffer together with Him, that we may also be glorified with Him*. And St. Paul, in the first chapter of the second to the Corinthians, saith to all the faithful, *As ye are companions of those things which Christ hath suffered, so shall ye be companions of his consolations*. All these things considered, I doubt not, good Mrs. Carr, but that you will arm yourself with patience, and bear Christ's cross, learning

to suffer for his sake, and that, were it a greater loss than you have, God be praised! as yet sustained. Let your faith overcome your sorrow. St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians concerning the dead (who, he saith, have but fallen asleep), forbiddeth them not to mourn but utterly forbiddeth them to mourn like Gentiles and infidels, who have no hope in Christ. And the wise man (Ecclus. xxii.) doth exhort us to mourn over the dead, so it be but for a little space. *Weep*, saith he, *for the dead, but only for a little time, because they are gone to their rest.* So you see there is an unreasonable mourning of them that want faith; and there is also a temperate and lawful mourning of them that have a steadfast belief in Christ and his promises, *which*, St. John saith, *overcometh all the temptations, that is the troubles, of the world.* I trust verily, good Mrs. Carr, that your mourning being temperate will shew itself to be a faithful, not a faithless mourning; which latter I pray Almighty God to keep from you. But I fear to be tedious. I trust one day I shall be able to come unto you myself. In the mean space, and evermore, I shall pray that the God of all consolation may comfort you in all your troubles.

Your loving friend in Christ,

Houghton, May 31, 1583.

BERNARD GILPIN.

In these and all his labours, the spiritual improvement of his parishioners was the principal source of his happiness, as far as it depended upon this world; and he fully participated in the feelings of the beloved disciple, *I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in the truth.*—3 John 4. And God vouchsafed to him a large measure of this recompense. We are told, that in a few years he had gained the love of the people of Houghton, and worked among them a greater reformation than could have been reasonably expected.

When old age brought its infirmities upon him, he declined indulging in that repose which his years seemed to require, and still in his church, his parish, and his school, persevered to the full extent of his strength, and continued to abound in the work of the Lord.

How blessed was such a ministry to the pastor himself,



and to the flock committed to his charge! Humbly, yet confidently, he could look forward to the day, in which they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever. The wanderers whom he had led to Christ could tell how beautiful are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation. And even in succeeding generations, the pious children of pious parents have had reason to bless the name of Bernard Gilpin, when they considered that their first religious impressions might be traced back, under God, to the holy and affectionate labours of this faithful preacher of the gospel.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE MISSIONARY.

. . . . . Unmoved with fear,  
 Health, comfort, safety, life he counts not dear,  
 May he but hope a Saviour's love to show,  
 And warn one spirit from eternal woe:  
 Nor will he faint, nor can he strive in vain,  
 Since thus to live is Christ—to die is gain.

J. MONTGOMERY.

IF a missionary be one who carries forth the torch of revelation, in order that he may diffuse its light over dark places of the earth, Bernard Gilpin was justly entitled to that appellation. He laboured for the conversion of souls which had no other means of coming to a knowledge of the gospel.

In the reign of Edward the sixth he had received a general license of preaching, a privilege which he still possessed in the reign of Elizabeth, and of which he made a most important use.

Great numbers of parishes in the south of England, and

still more in the north, were totally destitute of ministers\*; and too many of those that were provided with clergymen could derive little benefit from their services. "The parsonages being in the possession of laymen, there remained not maintenance for a minister; for the laymen sought out for poor base priests, who were only able to read prayers to the people morning and evening, —nor did the one use to require, or they [the priests,] take care to perform any more. This desolation of the church, and ignorance of the common sort, much troubled the holy heart of Mr. Gilpin."

Every year, therefore, he used regularly to visit the most neglected parishes in Northumberland, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, his own parish being in the mean time intrusted to the care of his curate. In each place he stayed two or three days, during which he assembled the people together, as many as could come to him, represented to them in the plainest language the danger of a wicked or unprofitable life, explained the nature of true religion, declared to them the duties they owed to God, their neighbours, and themselves, and referred them to the end of all things, and the means of present and future happiness.

There was something in the nature and purposes of his visit which attracted the people of those neglected villages, and we are told that many who had never before entertained a serious thought were brought to a sense of religion.

In the course of his circuits he never passed by a jail without endeavouring to do some good within its walls; and it is said that his lively appeals and seasonable instructions wrought the reformation of several abandoned characters. He often sifted the charges brought against the prisoners, and occasionally discovering cases of hardship and injustice, employed his interest to procure their pardon, or the mitigation of their punishment.

There was one wild and destitute tract of country,

\* In the diocese of Ely, containing 156 parishes, 47 had no ministers at all; and only 52 were regularly served.

inhabited by a people almost in a state of barbarism, in which there was no tradition of the word of God having been preached before it was visited by Bernard Gilpin. It is thus described by Camden:—

“ At Walwick-north, the Tine crosses the Roman wall. It rises in the mountains on the borders of England and Scotland: and first, running eastward, waters Tine-dale, which hath thence its name, and afterwards embracing the river Read, which, falling from the steep hill of Readsquire, where the lord-wardens of the eastern marches used to determine the disputes of the borderers, gives its name to a valley, too thinly inhabited, by reason of the frequent robberies committed there. Both these dales breed notable bog-trotters, and have such boggy-topped mountains, as are not to be crossed by ordinary horsemen. We wonder to see so many heaps of stones in them, which the neighbourhood believe to be thrown together in memory of some persons there slain. There are also in both of them many ruins of old forts. The Umfranvils held Reads-dale, as Doomsday-book informs us, in fee and knight's service, for guarding the dale from robberies. All over these wastes, you see, as it were, the ancient Nomades, a martial people, who, from April to August, lie in little tents, which they call sheals, or shealings, here and there dispersed among their flocks.”

Respecting this strange and lawless district, Mr. William Gilpin has collected the following additional account of its actual state in his ancestor's time.

“ Before the union with Scotland, this country was generally called the ‘debatable land,’ as subject by turns to England and Scotland, and the common theatre where the two nations were continually acting their bloody contests. It was inhabited, as Mr. Camden hath just informed us, by a kind of desperate banditti, rendered fierce and active by constant alarms. They lived by theft; used to plunder on both sides of the barrier, and what they plundered on one, they exposed to sale on the other; by that means escaping justice. Such adepts were they in

the art of thieving, that they could twist a cow's horn, or mark a horse, so as its owners could not know it; and so subtle, that no vigilance could guard against them. For these arts they were long afterwards famous. A person telling king James a surprising story of a cow that had been driven from the north of Scotland into the south of England, and, escaping from the herd, found her way home,—‘The most surprising part of the story,’ the king replied, ‘you lay least stress on, that she passed unstollen through the debatable land.’”

But where the traveller could not pass without danger, the missionary went on his errand of charity. For this purpose he usually chose the Christmas holidays, as bishop Carleton states, “when, in respect of frost and snow, other men were loth to travel. That time he liked best, because then there came many holidays together, and the people would more usually attend upon the holidays, whereas at other times they neither would come together so easily nor so often.”

He commonly travelled with one attendant, his almoner, William Airay; and “being sometimes benighted before he was aware,” was constrained “to lodge in the snow all night.” In such emergencies, he desired Airay “to trot the horses up and down, and neither to permit them nor himself to stand still, whiles he himself, in the mean while, did bestir himself, sometimes running, sometimes walking, as not able to stand still for cold.” And when he was more fortunate, and found shelter for the night, the provisions which he got in that poor country were such as hunger only could make palatable.

That as many of the people as were willing to hear the gospel might be able to assemble, he always endeavoured to spread abroad the rumour of the appointed times and places of his preaching. If he found a church near at hand, he there declared his message; if not, he addressed the congregation in a barn, or any other large building, whither great numbers flocked, some for the purpose of hearing his instructions, and others of partaking of his

bounty. Bishop Carleton, desirous of expressing the reverence in which he was held for his disinterested and charitable mission, remarks that the "half-barbarous and rustic people esteemed him a very prophet."

One instance affords an illustration of the strength of this feeling. "It happened by chance that, while Mr. Gilpin preached amongst them, a certain good fellow had stolen away Mr. Gilpin's horses; upon the missing whereof, there is hue and cry raised through the country that Mr. Gilpin's horses were stolen, and must be searched for with all possible diligence. The fellow who had stolen them, so soon as he heard that they were Mr. Gilpin's horses, (for he knew not whose they were when he took them away,) was in great fear and trembling. The theft did not much trouble his conscience, but when he heard the name of Mr. Gilpin, it cast him into trouble and distraction of heart. Therefore, in much trembling, and with all the speed he could, he brought back Mr. Gilpin's horses, and humbly craved the pardon and benediction of 'Father Gilpin;' and protested that after it came to his knowledge that they were Mr. Gilpin's horses, he was afraid to be thrust down quick into hell, if he should do him any wrong."

Two other anecdotes have been preserved in illustration of his efforts to introduce civilization and the principles of Christianity into that unlettered community. We insert them in the fresh and quaint diction of the old memoir.

"Upon a time when Mr. Gilpin was in these parts, at a town called Rothbury, there was a pestilent faction amongst some of them that were wont to resort to that church. The men being bloodily-minded, practised a bloody manner of revenge, termed by them *Deadly-feud*\*.

\* An appeal to the law, for the settlement of disputes, was of very rare occurrence in the border-counties in those days. The sword was the universal judge, and the contending parties either met in single combat, or mustered their adherents, and commenced a petty warfare.

If the faction on the one side did perhaps come to the church, the other side kept away, because they were not accustomed to meet together without bloodshed. Now so it was, that when Mr. Gilpin was in the pulpit in that church, both parties came to church in the presence of Mr. Gilpin; and both of them stood, the one of them in the upper part of the church, or chancel, the other in the body thereof, armed with swords and javelins in their hands. Mr. Gilpin, somewhat moved with this unaccustomed spectacle, goeth on nevertheless in his sermon, and now, a second time, their weapons make a clashing sound, and the one side drew nearer to the other, so that they were in danger to fall to blows in the midst of the church.

“Hereupon, Mr. Gilpin cometh down from the pulpit, and stepping to the ringleaders of either faction, first of all he appeased the tumult. Next he laboureth to establish peace betwixt them, but he could not prevail in that: only they promised to keep the peace unbroken so long as Mr. Gilpin should remain in the church. Mr. Gilpin, seeing he could not utterly extinguish the hatred which was now inevitably betwixt them, desired them that yet they would forbear hostility so long as he should remain in those quarters; and this they consented unto. Mr. Gilpin thereupon goeth up into the pulpit again, (for he had not made an end of his sermon,) and spent the rest of the allotted time which remained, in disgracing that barbarous and bloody custom of theirs, and (if it were possible) in the utter banishing it for ever.” And such was the impression produced by this sermon, that “so often as Mr. Gilpin came into those parts afterwards, if any man amongst them stood in fear of a deadly foe, he resorted usually where Mr. Gilpin was, supposing himself more safe in his company, than if he went with a guard.”

The other narrative relates to the same unchristian practice of shedding man's blood for a trifling cause.

“Upon a certain Lord's-day,” we are told, “Mr. Gilpin,

coming to a church in those parts before the people were assembled, and walking up and down therein, espied a glove hanging on high in the church. Whereupon he demanded of the sexton what could be the meaning thereof, and wherefore it hanged in that place? The sexton maketh answer, that it was a glove of one of the parish, who had hanged it up there as a challenge to his enemy, signifying thereby that he was ready to enter into combat with his enemy, hand to hand, or with any one else who should dare to take down that challenge. Mr. Gilpin requested the sexton, by some means or other to take it down. 'Not I, sir,' replied the sexton, 'I dare do no such thing.' 'But,' said Mr. Gilpin, 'if thou wilt but bring me hither a long staff, I will take it down myself.' And so, when a long staff was brought, Mr. Gilpin took down the glove and put it up in his bosom. By and by came the people to church in abundance, and Mr. Gilpin, when he saw his time, went up into the pulpit. In his sermon he took occasion to reprove those inhuman challenges; and rebuked them sharply for that custom which they had of making challenges by the hanging up of a glove. 'I hear,' saith he, 'that there is one amongst you, who, even in this sacred place, hath hanged up a glove to this purpose, and threateneth to enter into combat with whosoever shall take it down. Behold, I have taken it down myself! and at that word, plucking out the glove, he showed it openly, and then instructed them how unbecoming those barbarous conditions were for any man that professed himself a christian; and so laboured to persuade them to a reconciliation, and to the practice of mutual love and charity amongst themselves.'

The general course and manner of his preaching amongst these untutored people, and the plans which he pursued for sowing the good seed, and promoting its growth, are now only recorded in the registers above. The fatigue which he endured, the blessings which he scattered, and the fruits of his labours, which await the last great harvest, have no fuller memorial upon earth than is contained

in these pages. But succeeding generations have conferred upon him a title which implies the possession and exercise of all those qualifications which constitute an able, zealous, and devoted christian missionary. His name is handed down to posterity as *The Apostle of the North*; and we cannot do less than associate with that dignified appellation the idea of frequent journeyings, labours, perils, and watchings, an anxious care of all the churches, earnest preaching to the people, going about doing good, and teaching publicly, and from house to house, indifference about his own ease and pleasure in his efforts to promote his divine Master's glory, and a deportment which strikingly exemplified the holiness and virtue which he taught.

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE CHURCHMAN.

. . . . . O mother dear,  
 Wilt thou forgive thy son one boding sigh?  
 Forgive, if round thy towers he walk in fear,  
 And tell thy jewels o'er with jealous eye.

*Christian Year.*

THROUGHOUT the history of Bernard Gilpin, we have hitherto noticed an uniformly calm and reflective temper, which duly examined and sifted the current opinions of the age, and endeavoured to separate the fine gold from the dross, with the single design of discovering the truth in its purity. The same deliberative temper appears in his treatment of questions regarding the church.

His piety, learning, and reputation, made all parties anxious for the credit of his support. The Roman catholics frequently endeavoured to persuade him to return to



their communion; while those protestants, who, having taken refuge at Frankfort, and other places, during the days of queen Mary, had imbibed the notions of church-government and discipline which had then recently sprung up on the continent, were equally sedulous in their attempts to attach Bernard Gilpin to their cause. But he was not of doubtful mind about the proper course for him to take. He considered union with the established church to be his positive duty, although, at the same time, he longed to see a further reformation in its discipline, that it might stand as pure in that matter as it did in its doctrine. His feelings on this subject will be further developed in the progress of this chapter.

When he refused the bishopric of Carlisle, the puritans had great hopes that he had some objection to the episcopal office. But they soon found themselves mistaken. He could not approve of their proceedings; on the contrary, he deprecated the violence with which they were assailing all who differed from them, and considered that they greatly erred in causing a breach of christian harmony and charity for matters not of vital importance. "The Reformation," he said, "was just; essentials were there concerned. But at present he saw no ground for dissatisfaction. The Church of England, he thought, gave no reasonable offence. Some things there might be in it which had been perhaps as well avoided\*; but to disturb the peace of a nation for such trifles, he thought was quite unchristian." In conversation with that party, he was wont to assure them, that he considered peace and charity amongst Christians to be infinitely more important, than the settlement of questions about forms of church-government, and clerical dress.

Bishop Carleton has preserved some notes of a conversation between Bernard Gilpin and one of these

\* Mr. Gilpin, the biographer, considers that his ancestor here refers to the use of the surplice and other clerical vestments, which were vehemently objected to by many in those times.

divines. "There came unto Mr. Gilpin," he says, "a certain Cambridge man, who seemed a very great scholar, and he dealt earnestly with Mr. Gilpin touching the discipline and reformation of the church. Mr. Gilpin told him that he could not allow that a human invention should take place in the church instead of a divine institution. 'And how do you think,' saith the man, 'that this form of discipline is a human invention?'—'I am,' saith Mr. Gilpin, 'altogether of that mind; and as many as shall diligently have turned over the writings of the ancient fathers will be of mine opinion. I suspect that form of discipline which appeareth not to have been received in any ancient church.' 'But yet,' saith the man, 'latter men do see many things which those ancient fathers saw not; and the present church seemeth better provided of many ingenious and industrious men.' Mr. Gilpin seemed somewhat moved at that word, and replied, 'I, for my part, do not hold the virtues of the latter men, worthy to be compared to the infirmities of the fathers.' The other man made answer that 'he supposed Mr. Gilpin to be in an error on that point.' But Mr. Gilpin used these words purposely, because he perceived that this fellow had a strong conceit of I know not what rare virtues in himself, which opinion Mr. Gilpin was desirous to root out of him."

This attempt, therefore, utterly failed; and equally unsuccessful was Dr. Cartwright's bitter attack upon the national church. Very soon after its publication, this work was sent to the rector of Houghton by one Dr. Birch, a prebendary of Durham, who had espoused its sentiments, and who requested him to read it attentively, and return it with his opinion of its contents. Before Mr. Gilpin had read half of the book, a messenger arrived with a letter of inquiry from Dr. Birch, who was impatient to learn what impression it had made. The treatise was accordingly returned, accompanied with a letter, in which Mr. Gilpin's feelings, with respect to

the question at issue, were expressed in the following lines:—

Multa quidem legi; sed plura legenda reliqui,  
 Posthac, cum dabitur copia, cuncta legam.  
 Optant ut careat maculis ecclesia cunctis;  
 Præsens vita negat; vita futura dabit.

The sense of which may be thus rendered into English :

Scarcely half read I close this author's book;  
 O what vain hopes in man's fond mind abound,  
 When for a spotless church on earth we look;—  
 In heaven alone perfection will be found.

The papists were not less solicitous than the dissenters to bias his mind, as his years advanced. The most pious members of that communion felt that their cause was injured by the defection of so sincere and upright a Christian; and from one of his relations, Mr. Thomas Gelthorpe, he received a letter, which presented to him a variety of motives for returning to the Roman catholic church. But he had so well considered every step which he had taken; that he returned a decisive answer, which shows his constancy in the faith which he had deliberately imbibed; and from which the following passages are selected\*:

Grace and peace. Your large letter was brought unto me when I had small leisure to answer it, as he can tell you who bringeth back this unto you. Howbeit I thought it not fit to let him come back without an answer; albeit the conclusion of your letter gave me small encouragement to write. For who would take the pains to write unto you, seeing you are fully resolved and determined, as you affirm, never to be persuaded from your opinions by any argument a man can bring? It could not choose but be a most grievous thing to the prophet Jeremy, when he cried out to the people, *Hear the word of the Lord*, that they should answer with a stiff neck, *We will not hear*. But let us leave these things to the operation of God, who is able to soften your heart, and to open the ears of the deaf adder, that stoppeth the same against the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.

\* From the translation of Bishop Carleton's *Life of Gilpin*.

You look back upon the ages past. You do well if also you look back to the times of the patriarchs, the prophets, of Christ and his apostles, and other holy men, with whom if you advise without prejudice of blinded affection, they will lead you far from that blindness, from that error, I may well say from that gross idolatry, which crept into the church while men slept.

Whereas you are grieved at the fall of monasteries and suppression of abbeys, I am sorry you should be blinded in this case. For very many of your own religion have confessed that they could not possibly subsist any longer, because the cry of them, like the cry of Sodom, was ascended into the ears of God. Their crimes were so manifest that they could not longer be concealed; the Lord could endure those wicked men no longer. But if you call to mind what enemies those men were to the ministry of the word of God, taking away, most sacrilegiously, the maintenance allowed for the ministers of the word, hardly leaving any one rectory unspoiled, you would easily judge that those men could not possibly stand or flourish any longer. This is the fruit of Luther's doctrine, and the whole word of God, truly preached, that God shall destroy that wicked one with the breath of his mouth.

Whereas you say, that he which cometh to God must believe, I wish you would consider that thing rightly; that religious faith can have no foundation but the word of God. *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.* Whence it cometh that whoso believeth in bulls, indulgences, images, and many other constitutions of men, cannot possibly have true faith. All those things vanish away, wheresoever the word of God hath power and authority.

That rest which you say that you find in the Church of Rome, your "catholic church," forsooth, if you take not the better heed, will undoubtedly fail you in your greatest necessity.

You say that you do not find, in that religion, anything opposite to the Gospel. But, if you look narrowly into it, you may see, in that religion, the word of God rejected; the golden legends and festivals, with bulls, indulgences, and many other things of that sort, for the most part obtruded upon men instead of the word of God. But here is a large field, and I want leisure. I hope I shall get opportunity to write unto

you more at large concerning these things. May God open your eyes, that you may see the abomination of that city which is built upon seven hills.—Rev. xvii. Look over Jerome upon that place.

If in that church the sacraments be corrupted, will you reject the grace of God when he openeth the eyes of his servants to reform these corruptions? Beware of that fearful sentence of St. John: *He that is filthy let him be filthy still.* You use the phrase, “If you should now begin to drink of another cup,” quite forgetting that, in the church of Rome, yourself, and all other laymen are utterly excluded from the cup, contrary to the manifest commandment of Christ, *Drink ye all of this.* Your learnedest doctors of Louvain, with many others, were not able to defend so great an abuse of the Supper.

If you call us heretics, and fly from us because we have forsaken so great abuses, superstitions, and errors, to the end that we might draw near to the sacred word of God, and holy institutions of Christ, we can appeal from your uncharitable prejudice, and are able to say with St. Paul, *I little esteem to be judged of you, it is the Lord which judgeth me.*

But you allege that it is a perilous thing to hear our sermons. So said the persecutors of St. Stephen (Acts vii.), and stopped their ears. So spoke Amaziah touching Amos the prophet.—Amos vii. *The land is not able to bear all his words.* Like unto which are those whom David compareth to the *deaf adder, which stoppeth her ears.*—Ps. lviii. Like unto whom were many in the times of the apostles, unto whom the gospel was hid, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of unbelievers, that the light of the gospel should not shine upon them.

Touching those Roman thunder-claps\*, there is no great cause why we should be afraid; those bug-bears were invented to frighten children; they are not to be feared by men of years. Erasmus called them *bruta fulmina*, foolish false-fires. If there were in the pope and his cardinals, who curse us with so much bitterness, but the least resemblance of Peter and Paul,—had they the fervent charity of these holy men, and their exquisite diligence to feed the flock of Christ day and

\* Bulls.

night, with other apostolic virtues,—then were their threats to be feared. But they have changed the humility of Peter into the pride of Lucifer; the poverty and daily labours of the apostles into the riches of Cræsus, and into the laziness and luxury of Sardanapalus.

To conclude, what agreement is there betwixt light and darkness? God hath promised, in the second of Malachi, that he will curse their blessings, or turn their blessings into curses, who consider not in their hearts to give glory unto his name. — See Jerome upon the third of Esay: *Those which call you blessed, seduce you\**. How many thousands of men are seduced by indulgences which are extended to many thousands of years, if the price be according? . . . . As concerning the universal church, God is my witness that it is the whole desire of mine heart, and mine assured confidence, that I shall die a member of it. But if I shall be so far misled by the pompous outside of the church of Rome as to approve those intolerable abuses, superstitions, and idolatries, which in so many ways rob God of his honour, I should not believe myself a member of Jesus Christ. If you approve of none interpretation of Scriptures but what proceeds from Rome, you may easily affirm whatsoever you pleasé. There is nothing so absurd, or so contrary to the truth of the eternal God, which may not be wrested by their corrupt glosses, as it may seem to serve to a wicked cause. With such kind of men is no disputation to be held.

After stating his objection to the popish doctrine of the sacraments, prayers for the dead, and purgatory, he thus proceeds, and concludes:—

As touching that which you add concerning the invocation of saints, St. Augustine exhorteth us rather to stand to the Scriptures than either to his writings or the writings of others, and not to build upon his writing without the authority of Scriptures. And surely, in this point, my conscience is resolved that there is not one point of all these which are controverted that is proved by more evident testimonies of Scripture than this, that God alone is to be prayed unto, and by one mediator, namely, Jesus Christ. *How shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed?*—Rom. x. 13. If we believe

\* Isaiah iii. 12. See our marginal reading.

in one God only, why should we pray to any more? That distinction touching invocation and advocacy, that albeit you allow not the invocation of saints, at least you allow their advocacy, is frivolous: because, as those men rob Christ of his honour who seek another mediator, so those are no less injurious to Christ who seek another advocate, because we have Christ an *Advocate with the Father*—1 John ii. 1; and Isaiah (LXiii.) affirmeth, that *Abraham knoweth not*. Truly, I assure myself that Abraham, the father of the faithful, is no less a saint than any other of the saints in heaven. You say you believe the communion of saints, which we also do, all of us, believe. But you infer, thereupon, that you understand not how there can be a communion of saints, if the saints departed do not pray for us, and we call upon them for assistance. But the church of Christ understandeth the communion of saints far otherwise. For, in the usual phrase of Scripture, saints are not understood to be those that are departed, and whose souls are in heaven, but those who are living here on the earth. Nor shall you, almost through the whole Scripture of the Old and New Testament, find the name of *saint* given to any man, but that thereby is understood a saint living here on the earth. Yea, sometimes the Scripture speaketh more expressly, as in Psalm xvi. 3. . . . *to the saints which are on the earth, all my delight is in them*. If any man ever had, or could have a communion with the saints in heaven, surely David had it. But he expounded the communion wherewith he was acquainted, that is the communion of saints on earth. So St. John expoundeth this point, (1 John i. 5.) *That which we have seen and known, that declare we unto you, that ye also may have communion with us, and that our communion may be with God, and with his Son Jesus Christ*. First, all the church of Christ have communion with the apostolic church, *that you may have communion with us*; secondly, this communion of saints shall consist in the preaching the word, and in the participation of divers gifts for the edification of the church in public and private prayers; thirdly, but in pouring out of our prayers we have communion with the Father and the Son, or with the Father by the Son. Here is no mention at all, no respect had to the saints departed. This communion, according to the words of Holy Scripture, extendeth no further than to the church on earth. The saints departed are not

called in Scripture simply *saints*, but, *the congregation of the first-born in heaven, or the spirits of just men made perfect*.—Heb. xii. 23. After this life we may have communion with them\* ; but, as for those who expect this communion with them in this life, let them either produce Scripture for what they say, or let them hear that sentence of our blessed Lord, *In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*.—Matt. xv. 9.

I confess, that, if you have respect to the usage of this our age, or some former ones, the deceased are called saints ; but it is not the custom of this or that age, but the rule of the Holy Scripture, that is propounded for our imitation. But what do we, contending about this point ? Those men who stand so hard for invocation of saints shall grant it us to be a thing indifferent ; for, indeed, it is the safest way to go to the fountain of mercy itself, and let the streams alone. Nor suffer those men to persuade you, who say that they detract nothing from God by directing their prayers to saints. For no man can detract from God more than he who transferreth the worship due to God alone unto the creature. For invocation is a part of divine worship ; and this worship He communicateth to no creature, who will not give his glory to another.

As for your arguments touching images, and fasting, (which point of fasting God forbid that either I or any one should deny ; yea, rather we exhort all persons to the practice of it, only we desire to have the superstition and wicked opinions removed,) together with those other arguments touching relics and exorcisms in casting out unclean spirits forsooth, which thing, when it leadeth to idolatry, is the sign of a false prophet—Deut. xiii., although answer might be made to all these with much ease, yet, because I now want leisure, as being overladen with employments, in regard that I am destitute of a curate at this time, and have a very large parish to

\* Bernard Gilpin appears to use the word *communion* as signifying *intercourse*. In this sense we certainly have no communion with departed spirits. Bishop Pearson considers that the communion of saints is their participation of common benefits ; and in this sense, there is manifestly, as he states, a fellowship between the saints on earth, and those who have departed in the true faith and fear of God.



visit, and also my body is weak, and subject to faint with weariness, being worn out with pains-taking; therefore, in all these respects I have thought it fitting to defer mine answer to these points until another time.

As to your not choosing to come to Houghton on a Sunday, because you will not be an offence to my parishioners, to say the truth, except you will come to church, which I think you might do very well, I should not much desire to see you on that day; for country people are strangely given to copy a bad example, and will unlearn more in a day than they have been learning for a month. But if you come straightways after the Sabbath-day is ended, and depart about Saturday at noon, you shall be heartily welcome. You must excuse my freedom; you know my heart; and how gladly I would have it to say, *Of those whom thou gavest me have I lost none.*

And although, as I observed before, the conclusion of your letter gives me no great encouragement, yet I will not cease to hope better things, touching your conversion, than you seem to hope of yourself.

St. Paul had once a firm resolution to die a pharisee, and a persecutor of christians; but God had reserved for him the treasure of power and mercy, to the end that He might ordain him to preach that glorious name which he had formerly persecuted. I commend you to the same goodness of the Almighty God, which is able, by the Spirit of knowledge, to lead you into all truth. Fare ye well.

Your loving Uncle,

BERNARD GILPIN.

*From Houghton, the 14th of October, 1580.*

Another incident which called forth an expression of his confirmed attachment to the principles of the Reformation occurred towards the close of his life. A gentleman named Genison, being much afflicted by his nephew's becoming a Jesuit during his travels in Italy, earnestly entreated Mr. Gilpin to endeavour to reclaim the young man from the error into which he had fallen. On complying with this request, he soon discovered that his guest had no inclination for a candid discussion, but thought of nothing but signalizing himself by making a convert of so eminent a person as Mr. Gilpin. Proving, of course, un-

successful, he next attempted to pervert the faith of the servants, scholars, and peasantry; upon which the good rector wrote to the uncle the following beautiful and characteristic letter:—

I trust, Sir, you remember, that when you first spake to me about your brother's son, your promise was, that I should have a licence from the bishop for my warrant. But that is not done. Wherefore you must either get one yourself, or suffer me; for our curate and churchwardens are sworn to present, if any be in the parish which utterly refuse to come to my church. I only desired him that he would come into the choir in the sermon-time but half an hour, which he utterly refused, and willed me to speak no more of it. He is, indeed, fixed in his errors; and I have perceived, by his talk, that his coming here was not to learn, but to teach; for, thinking to find me half a papist, he trusted to win me over entirely. But whereas, I trust in God, I have put him clearly from that hope, yet I stand in great danger that he shall do much hurt in my house, or in the parish; for he cometh furnished with all the learning of the Jesuits. They have found out, I perceive, certain expositions of the Old Testament, never heard of before, to prove the invocation of saints from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He will not grant that any thing hath been wrong in the church of Rome; the most abominable errors of indulgences, pardons, false miracles, and false relics, pilgrimages, and such like, he can find them all in the gospel, and will have them all to be good and holy.—For my part, I have determined myself otherwise; age and want of memory compel me to take my leave of this wretched world, and at this time of life not to study answers to such trumpery and new inventions, seeing I was never any disputer in all my life. I trust there be learned men enough in the universities who will sufficiently answer all that ever they can bring that is worth answering.—Wherefore, good Mr. Genison, seeing your cousin is fixed in his errors, as he plainly confesseth, help to ease me of this burthen, that I may with quietness apply to my vocation. I am sent for to preach in divers places, but I cannot go from home so long as he is here. People, in these evil days, are given to learn more superstition in a week than true religion in seven years.—But if, notwithstanding, you are desirous to have him tarry two or three weeks longer, I must needs have licence from

the bishop; whether you will get the same, or I must, I refer to your good pleasure. And I pray God to preserve you evermore.

Your loving friend to his power,  
BERNARD GILPIN.

At the same time that he was thus steadfast in his adherence to the protestant faith and the established church, he was of opinion that there were still many errors and blemishes in the ecclesiastical government; and he longed to see that reformation, which had worked so much good with regard to the doctrines of the church, extended more fully to its discipline and laws. On suitable occasions, he declared these sentiments openly, as will appear in the sequel of the following anecdote.

One day, in the latter part of his life, when he was preparing for his missionary circuit in Reads-dale and Tinedale, he received a notice from the bishop (Dr. Barnes), that he must preach the visitation-sermon on the following Sunday. He therefore despatched his servant to the bishop, requesting him to appoint some other clergyman to perform that duty, since "there were many who would be willing enough to preach at the visitation, whereas there was not a man who would supply his place in the congregations which were to meet him in the border-district." Considering that his excuse must be satisfactory to the bishop, and receiving no intimation to the contrary, he set out on his journey; but when he returned home, he found, to his great surprise, that the bishop had suspended him from all ecclesiastical employment.

While he was musing upon this unexpected severity, a messenger arrived, requiring his presence at Chester-le-Street, to meet the bishop and clergy. He obeyed the summons, and on the day of his arrival, the bishop addressed him and said, "I must have you preach to-day." Mr. Gilpin begged that he might be excused,—he had made no preparation,—besides, being suspended, it was unlawful for him to preach. The bishop answered, that he took off the suspension. Mr. Gilpin replied, that he

durst not go into the pulpit unprovided. "But we know," said the bishop, "that you are never unprovided; for you have such a habit of preaching, that you are able to perform it if you please, even upon the sudden." He answered, that he was loth to tempt God, and felt it no easy matter to preach as he ought to do, even after mature deliberation. The bishop at length grew warm, and exclaimed, "I command you, upon your canonical obedience, to go up into the pulpit." Mr. Gilpin, after a little hesitation, answered, "Well, Sir, seeing it must be so, your lordship's will be done," and in a few minutes he began his sermon.

Towards the conclusion, he reproved the prevailing vices of the times, and finally censured the enormities practised in the ecclesiastical court of Durham, the corruption of which was notorious. Turning towards the bishop, he spoke thus:—

"My discourse now, reverend father, must be directed to you. God hath exalted you to be the bishop of this diocese, and requireth an account of your government thereof. A reformation of all those matters which are amiss in this church, is expected at your hands. And now, lest, perhaps, while it is apparent that so many enormities are committed every where, your lordship should make answer, that you had no notice of them given you, and that these things never came to your knowledge," [for this, it seems, was the bishop's common apology to all complainants,] "behold I bring these things to your knowledge this day. Say not then that these crimes have been committed by the fault of others without your knowledge; for whatever either yourself shall do in person, or suffer through your connivance to be done by others, is wholly your own. Therefore, in the presence of God, his angels, and men, I pronounce you to be the author of all these evils: yea, and in that strict day of general account, I will be a witness to testify against you, that all these things have come to your knowledge by my means: and all these men shall bear witness thereof, who have heard me speak unto you this day."

Mr. Gilpin's friends were greatly alarmed by this boldness of speech, and after the sermon, they gathered round

him and declared their apprehensions with tears in their eyes. "You have put a sword," they said, "into the bishop's hands to slay you. If heretofore he has been offended with you without a cause, what may you not expect from him now, when you have so imprudently provoked him to crush you!" Gilpin calmly replied, "Be not afraid; the Lord God overruleth us all. So that the truth may be propagated, and God glorified, God's will be done concerning me!"

They proceeded to the place where the bishop and clergy were to dine together, and during the repast some remark upon the sermon was expected from the prelate. Nothing however was said, and after a while Mr. Gilpin went up to the bishop to take his leave in the customary manner. "Sir," said the bishop, "it is my intention to accompany you home." They accordingly walked together, and having arrived at their destination and gone into a private room, the bishop turned round to Mr. Gilpin, seized him eagerly by the hand, and said, "Father Gilpin, I acknowledge you are fitter to be the bishop of Durham, than I am to be parson of this church of yours. I ask forgiveness for errors past. Forgive me, father. I know you have hatched up some chickens that now seek to pick out your eyes\*; but while I live bishop of Durham, be assured no man shall injure you."

Mr. Gilpin's mind appears to have been much troubled by a practice which was resorted to at various periods during the reign of Elizabeth, for the purpose of detecting and silencing those ministers who were disaffected towards the church or state. This was the practice of requiring subscription to formularies of faith and rules of discipline, and of administering oaths as tests of loyalty. Upon this subject he makes the following statement of his feelings; "I have been always scrupulous and troubled either in

\* He alludes probably to Hugh Broughton whom Gilpin had educated in his school at Houghton, and who was now requiring evil for good by endeavouring to excite the bishop's displeasure against him.

subscribing or swearing to any thing, besides the Scriptures and articles of our belief, because the Scriptures ought ever to have a pre-eminence above man's writings." And again he speaks of having at one time made a resolution thenceforward, "to swear to no writing, but with exception as it agrees with the word of God\*."

His conviction of the apostolical origin of episcopacy appears in the early part of this chapter; the only offence to him was, that the office was not always intrusted to men of apostolical character. In a letter, which, on other accounts, merits a place in this memoir, we find him referring to the bishop as his spiritual superior. He had taken some step with regard to his parish which gave him great concern; and, finding that he could not satisfy his conscience, he determined to lay open the whole case before his diocesan, and either to resign his living, or submit to any censure which the bishop might think fit to adjudge.

\* The above opinion is opposed to the practice of almost every Christian church, which requires some profession of faith from candidates for the ministry, either by subscription to certain articles, or by a written statement of their views of scriptural doctrine. Indeed, as long as the Word of God is claimed as the authority for a variety of conflicting notions, it cannot well be otherwise. But in requiring such subscription or other declaration of faith, the churches do not pretend to set up "man's writings" against or above the Holy Scriptures, but merely desire to elicit a statement of the sense in which the leading truths of the Bible are received, in order to preserve unity of faith.

The Articles of the Church of England are entirely constructed upon this principle. They professedly set forth the true doctrines of the inspired Word, and nothing more. "Holy Scripture," says one of those Articles, "containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it shall be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." The Church, therefore, in requiring subscription to the Articles, demands nothing inconsistent with Mr. Gilpin's excellent principle that, "the Scriptures ought ever to have a pre-eminence above man's writings," but merely desires that those, whom she authorizes to do the work of the ministry, should believe her faith and worship to be scriptural.

The letter to the bishop is lost, but it was enclosed in the following addressed to a friend:—

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus: If any man be vexed in body or mind, you know it is a very grievous thing to have no comforter; which hath constrained me to disclose unto you (not doubting but to have both your comfort and help, and to have it kept most secret,) that thing, which, besides to you, I never opened to any living creature. In this enclosed letter I have opened my grief and weakness of conscience unto my lord; beseeching you, if opportunity will serve, to deliver it. Howbeit, if either he should be pained with sickness, or you would first [oblige me] by writing, that I should have your advice, or you see any other cause why to stay the delivery, I refer all to your wisdom. But if you have opportunity to my lord, I hope, by you, to know speedily some part of his pleasure. I trust, my case weighed, he will rather think me to be pitied than had in hatred. How tender a thing conscience is, I have found by too good experience. I have found, moreover, that as it is easily wounded, so it is with difficulty healed. And, for my own part, I speak from my heart, I would rather be often wounded in my body than once in my mind. Which things considered, I trust you will bear with my weakness. But you may object, I have continued weak very long, which fault certainly I find with myself: but for this I accuse my own slowness, both in study and prayer; which, by God's grace, as far as my weak body will serve, hereafter shall be amended: for, certainly those two are the chief instruments whereby I have sure trust that God of his goodness will make me strong.

In no other way, perhaps, did Mr. Gilpin do more to promote the usefulness of the church than by his efforts to bring up pious and learned candidates for the sacred ministry. He made his school a nursery for that holy vocation, paid the most anxious attention to the religious instruction of the scholars, and selected the youth of greatest promise to have the further advantage of being educated in the universities.

His intimacies were but few; and it is worthy of remark, in this place, that the friend, whose name is handed down to us as that of his most familiar companion, was one of

the bishops of his diocese. Bishop Pilkington was a man of learning and integrity; had been Master of St. John's college, Cambridge; and, in the reign of queen Mary, had narrowly escaped suffering for conscience sake. In the next reign, he published an ingenious application of the book of Haggai to the reformation of religion then in progress; and, by means of that work, was recommended to the queen, who admired his character, moderation, and prudence, and promoted him to the see of Durham, in 1560. In this high office he applied himself to the advancement of religion; but it was considered that his discipline was not sufficiently strict. At Durham he became acquainted with the rector of Houghton, and a pure and disinterested friendship was gradually cemented between them. By a frequent interchange of visits, they contrived to pass much of their time together, and consulted about plans of usefulness and piety. The bishop was induced by Mr. Gilpin's example, to found a school at his native place in Lancashire, the statutes of which he submitted to his friend's inspection and amendment\*.

Towards those whose religious opinions were different from his own he was lenient and kind, so long as their conduct deserved his respect. He considered moderation to be one of the most genuine effects of true piety; and,

\* Pilkington had been an exile for the Gospel's sake in the days of queen Mary, and on his return, was an advocate for moderate and healing measures with regard to the Puritans. Clerical apparel was one of the most serious matters of contention; so trifling are the causes for which men are guilty of offending against christian charity! How great excitement existed on that subject may be gathered from *STRYPE'S Life of Parker*, and other contemporary works. Pilkington himself, although he wore the offending square-cap and surplice, by no means liked them, and frequently urged that their use should not be made compulsory. A passage in one of his letters on this subject, addressed to the earl of Leicester, gives a rather picturesque description of the state of the church in that part of England.

"In this rude superstitious people, on the borders, priests go with sword, dagger, and such coarse apparel as they can get, not being curious or scrupulous what colour or fashion it be, and none



wrong as he thought it to oppose the established church, as many did in those days, in the hope of working further changes in its constitution, he deemed it equally wrong to molest those dissentients who were quietly and peaceably disposed. One of his most intimate friends was a person of this description. Mr. Lever had been head of a college in Cambridge, and afterwards Prebendary of Durham, and Master of Sherborne hospital. To use bishop Carleton's phrase, he was "a godly and learned man," and had been esteemed in king Edward's time, an eminent and bold preacher. But having gone abroad for safety during the reign of queen Mary, and imbibing in Switzerland an attachment to the forms of worship and discipline which emanated from Geneva, he was, after his return home in the next reign, convened, with many others, before the archbishop of York, at a time when the violence and disorder of some of the Puritans irritated Elizabeth against the whole party, and was deprived of some of his ecclesiastical preferments. Mr. Lever, however, was really a moderate man, and by no means a forward opponent of the existing constitution of the church; and Mr. Gilpin thought that he was hardly dealt with, pitied his misfortune, and, notwithstanding the strength of the popular prejudice, continued to manifest his usual regard towards him\*.

is offended at them. But such grief to be taken at a cap among them that are civil, and full of knowledge, is lamentable . . . This realm has such scarcity of teachers, that, if so many worthy men should be cast out of the ministry for such small matters, many places should be destitute of preachers."

An opinion which he expresses upon the too-common character of religious feuds, is also worthy of serious consideration. He says, that "where satan cannot overthrow the greatest matters, he will raise great troubles in trifles."—Appendix to STRYPE'S *Life of Archbishop Parker*.

\* Strype gives the following character of Lever.—"He was a man of great account for his piety and learning, and abilities in preaching the gospel, formerly Master of St. John's college, in Cambridge, the chief nursery, in those times, of the favourers of true religion and solid learning, and contemporary there with

We have now seen that Bernard Gilpin's attachment to the Church of England was not the growth of prejudice or of accident, but the result of a persuasion that it might be, what it has since proved, an honoured instrument for promoting the glory of God and the salvation of souls; an instrument, too, framed after an apostolical pattern. His hopes and desires for the church were such as ought to have a place near the heart of every member of the same,

Chester, Cecyl, Ascham, Pilkington, &c. In king Edward's time he was reckoned one of the most eminent preachers; insomuch, that bishop Ridley, in his lamentation for the change of religion in queen Mary's days, mentioned four preachers then, namely, Latimer, Bradford, Knox, and Lever, to be famous for their plain and bold preaching;—saying that they ripped so deeply in the galled backs of the great men of the court, to have purged them of the filthy matter that was festering in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, filthy carnality and voluptuousness, intolerable ambition and pride, and ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes and God's word, that they of all other they could never abide. But in queen Mary's reign, he lived an exile in Zurich. This is enough to characterize the man."—STRYPE'S *Life of Parker*, Book iii. ch. viii.

Mr. Lever was one of those who deprecated the compulsory use of any clerical habits, and a letter from him to the earl of Leicester and secretary Cecil has been preserved by Strype in the Appendix to the work above quoted.

With regard to this unhappy strife about caps and surplices, one cannot help exclaiming with St. James, *Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth.*

In the appendix to the *Life of Archbishop Parker*, and within a few pages of the aforementioned letter to Mr. Lever, a small tract, circulated in those times, has been reprinted. The title is, *A Brief and Lamentable Consideration of the Apparel now used by the Clergy of England; set out by a Faithful Servant of God, for the Instruction of the Weak.* The writer, after arguing that no form of apparel is forbidden in Scripture, except that which is pompous, or the like,—that uniformity of apparel amongst the clergy is meet,—that the king or queen may appoint what such habits shall be,—and that the use of any particular garment by the papists is no reason for rejecting it in the reformed church,—gives this admirable counsel to his "good christian readers:"—

"But something, say you, is amiss. And I say some things ever will be amiss. But yet the church, by this discord, is shaken; let us cease; our friends do mourn. Be at unity; our enemies do

and the general diffusion of them would, by Divine favour, work their own fulfilment. For it was the object of his fervent wishes and prayers, that peace might flourish throughout the christian world; that the gospel might be preached by a pious and diligent ministry; and that the church might advance towards perfection by continual improvement under the dew of God's blessing.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE MAN OF BENEFICENCE.

Was ever spirit that could bend  
 So graciously?—that could descend  
     Another's need to suit,  
 So promptly from her lofty throne!—  
 In works of love, in these alone,  
     How restless, how minute!—WORDSWORTH.

THE life of one who was so anxious to form his character after the model of the gospel, was naturally full of alms-deeds and other works of christian beneficence. As he devoted his time and talents, so also his fortune, to the service of God, in the relief of the poor, the promotion of religion, and the practice of hospitality. Whatever

inwardly rejoice. Away with these contentions. Wherefore, dear brethren, join hands; help forward the Lord's building; let us be faithful labourers, for we have of proud loiterers too many. To work! to work! the harvest is great, and the workmen are few. Love you Christ? Feed his sheep. Love yourselves? Brawl not in his vineyard. Love your brethren? Disturb not their quietness. Let every one of us help the other's burthen. Let us bewail our lives; let us fall to earnest prayers; and let us proceed in all good works. And so shall our enemies quail; satan shall be resisted, and sects prevented. So shall our friends be glad, the whole church shall joy, and true godliness shall increase. So shall we and you, so shall all good men, receive an incorruptible crown, not of gold, but of glory; and that when the chief Shepherd shall appear."—STRYPE's *Life of Parker*. Appendix.

temporal goods he possessed had come to him unsought, and were liberally distributed for the well-being of others. He said, in a letter to a friend, "It is my design, at my departure, to leave no more behind me but to bury me and pay my debts;" and his whole conduct was regulated in accordance with these sentiments\*.

The value of his living was about four hundred pounds a-year, a large income in those times, which he made the more fruitful of blessings to the neighbourhood, by frugal management and great self-denial.

His bounty to the poor is thus described by Mr. William Gilpin:—"Every Thursday, throughout the year, a very large quantity of meat was dressed wholly for the poor; and every day they had what quantity of broth they wanted. Twenty-four of the poorest were his constant pensioners. Four times in the year a dinner was provided for them, when they received from his steward a certain quantity of corn and a sum of money; and at Christmas they had always an ox divided among them.

"Wherever he heard of any in distress, whether of his own parish or any other, he was sure to relieve them. In his walks abroad he would frequently bring home with him poor people, and send them away clothed as well as fed.

"He took great pains to inform himself of the circumstances of his neighbours, that the modesty of the sufferer might not prevent his relief.

"But the money best laid out was, in his opinion, that which encouraged industry. It was one of his greatest pleasures to make up the losses of his laborious neighbours, and prevent their sinking under them. If a poor man had lost a beast, he would send him another in its

\* By his last will and testament, after providing for the payment of his debts, and leaving a few small remembrances to his friends, and some furniture and building-materials to his successor, in lieu of dilapidations, he bequeathed the residue of his goods, cattle, and money, to the poor, to the school, and to nine of his students at Oxford.

room: or if any farmer had a bad year, he would make him an abatement in his tithes. Thus, as far as he was able, he took the misfortunes of his parish upon himself; and like a true shepherd, exposed himself for his flock.

“But of all kinds of industrious poor, he was most forward to assist those who had large families: such never failed to meet with his bounty, when they wanted to settle their children in the world.

“In the distant parishes where he preached, as well as in his own neighbourhood, his generosity and benevolence were continually showing themselves; particularly in the desolate parts of Northumberland. ‘When he began his journey,’ says an old manuscript life of him, ‘he would have ten pounds in his purse; and at his coming home he would be twenty nobles\* in debt, which he would always pay within a fortnight after. In the jails he visited, he was not only careful to give the prisoners proper instructions, but used to purchase for them, likewise, what necessaries they wanted.’

“Even upon the public road, he never let slip an opportunity of doing good. Often has he been known to take off his cloak, and give it to a half-naked traveller; and when he has had scarcely money enough in his pocket to provide a dinner, yet would he give away part of that little, or the whole, if he found any who seemed to stand in need of it. Of this benevolent temper the following instance is preserved:—One day, returning home, he saw in a field several people crowding together; and judging something more than ordinary had happened, he rode up, and found that one of the horses in a team had suddenly dropped down, which they were endeavouring to raise; but in vain, for the horse was dead. The owner of it seeming much dejected with his misfortune, and declaring how grievous a loss it would be to him, Mr. Gilpin told him not to be disheartened; ‘I’ll let you have,’ says he, ‘honest man, that horse of mine,’ and pointed to his

\* A noble was a coin worth 6s. 8d.

servant's.—‘Ah, master,’ replied the countryman, ‘my pocket will not reach such a beast as that.’ ‘Come, come,’ said Mr. Gilpin, ‘take him, take him, and when I demand my money, then thou shalt pay me.’”

Mourning over the ignorance and superstition which prevailed around him, Mr. Gilpin, as is related in a former page, had erected a school in his parish. And seeing that, in the few places where similar institutions existed, the poverty of the endowments deterred men of learning from taking charge of them, he purchased land sufficient to provide an adequate maintenance for a competent master and usher. His school was no sooner opened than it began to flourish; and the number of boys from other places was soon so great, that Houghton could not provide sufficient lodgings for them. Mr. Gilpin, therefore, fitted up a part of his own house for their use, and generally had twenty or thirty residing with him. Some of them, being the sons of persons of distinction, were boarded on reasonable terms, but the greater part were poor children, whom he not only educated, but clothed and maintained. Every year he brought several youths with him from the districts in which he made his missionary tours; and it is related to have been his common practice to enter into conversation with the poor boys whom he met upon the road, and, if he found them possessed of good understanding, to provide for their education.

Thus, bishop Carleton informs us that “it happened upon a time, as he was upon his way towards Oxford, he espied, by the wayside, a youth, one while walking, and another while running. Mr. Gilpin demanded of him who he was, whence he came, and whither he was going. He made answer that he came out of Wales, and that he was bound for Oxford with intent to be a scholar. Mr. Gilpin examineth the youth, and findeth him a prompt scholar in the Latin, and that he had a little smattering in the Greek. ‘And wilt thou, then,’ saith Mr. Gilpin, ‘be contented to go with me? I will provide for thee.’”

The youth was contented; whereupon Mr. Gilpin took him along with him, first to Oxford, afterwards to Houghton, where he profited exceedingly both in Greek and Hebrew; whom Mr. Gilpin at last sent to Cambridge." This was Hugh Broughton, a man of some note in his day as a man of letters; but who proved of a vain disposition and unsettled habits, and was ungenerous and ungrateful to his early friend and patron.

Mr. Gilpin set apart sixty pounds yearly, (being an eighth part of his income,) for the support of poor scholars in the universities. "This sum," says Mr. William Gilpin, "he always laid out; often more. His common allowance to each scholar was about ten pounds a year, which, for a sober youth, was at that time a very sufficient maintenance; so that he never maintained fewer than six."

When the youths removed from under his roof to the universities, he was most anxious about their future manner of life; and to promote their growth in virtue and religion, he kept up a regular correspondence with them and with their tutors; and every other year he generally went to the universities to inquire into their behaviour, and to make further provision for their christian nurture.

This care was attended with a large measure of success; few of his scholars disappointed his hopes, and many of them "became great ornaments of the church," says the bishop of Chichester, "and were very exemplary instances of piety." Amongst these was Henry Ayray, who became provost of Queen's college, Oxford, whose talents and virtues were in high esteem, and Carleton himself, the biographer of Gilpin, a man of worth and learning, and very deservedly promoted to the see of Chichester.

All these acts of bounty flowed from a pure christian benevolence, which prompted him to many other good works as well as to the liberal distribution of his income. Thus the oppressed found in him a friend ready to extend

over them the shelter of his influence; and in particular his humanity and decision were manifested by his exertions in behalf of those who were suffering from the iniquity of Mr. Barnes, who, being at one time chancellor of the diocese, was judge of the ecclesiastical court. Some traces of their contests were found amongst Mr. Gilpin's papers, in which the union of mildness and determination were manifest on his part. A letter written to Barnes, for redress in the case of three orphans whom he had defrauded of their patrimony, concludes in the following manner. "It will be but a very few years before you and I must give up our great accounts. I pray God give us both the grace to have them in a constant readiness. And may you take what I have written in as friendly a manner as it is meant. My daily prayers are made for you to Almighty God, whom I beseech evermore to preserve you."

At another time he pleaded for mercy to be shown to the misguided peasantry of the north, who had been excited to insurrection by the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and some popish emissaries. The rebels had extended their ravages as far as Houghton, where they found much plunder, for the harvest was just over, the barns were full, and the meadows well stocked with fatted cattle. Mr. Gilpin's property, or rather his stores laid up for the comfort and support of his poor neighbours, were carried off amongst the rest, and this was a great grief to him. But when the rebels laid down their arms, and measures of severity were about to be adopted against them, he interceded for those who had joined the insurgents, representing that in general the people were well affected, but that being extremely ignorant, many of them had been seduced by idle stories which the rebels had propagated, making them believe that they took up arms for the queen's service.

When any of his parishioners were at variance, they commonly referred their differences to him, relying upon the soundness of his judgment, and his strict regard for equity. He had thus the happiness of considering that



he had prevented many law-suits; and his hall is said to have been often thronged with people who came to submit their disputes to his examination and decision.

Another branch of charity with which he was adorned, and which particularly evinced the purity and sincerity of the rest, was his candour in interpreting the language and conduct of others. He dealt mildly with their failings; he looked upon their reputation as a most precious treasure, turned a deaf ear to the voice of common rumour, and repelled with indignation the aspersions of calumny. It was a frequent saying, when he found any persons making light of the good name of a neighbour, "that slander deserved a severer punishment than theft."

Mr. Gilpin adhered strictly to the evangelical precept, *Use hospitality one to another without grudging.*—1 Pet. iv. 9. The way-faring man found a kind reception at his parsonage; all who knocked at his door, desirous of a lodging, were welcome; and their horses were so well taken care of, that it was humorously observed, that, "If a horse were turned loose in any part of the country it would immediately make its way to Houghton."

In order to provide more completely for the comfort of visitors and travellers, he had erected a parsonage-house of unusually ample dimensions, which bishop Carleton describes as "superior to most bishops' houses, with respect both to the largeness of the building, and the elegance of the situation."

On every Sunday between Michaelmas and Easter, three tables were prepared for different classes of people; the first for the upper ranks, the second for yeomen, and the third for the peasantry; and, during this season, he expected all his parishioners and their families to dine with him. He did not omit to exercise this hospitality, even when losses or a scarcity of provisions made it necessary for him to anticipate his next year's income, in order to provide it. Hence, in a letter to his old opponent, chancellor Barnes, he writes thus on one occasion: "If you should, as you threaten, give out a sequestration

of my benefice, you shall do me a greater favour than you are aware of: for at this time I am run in no small debt. I want likewise provision of victuals. Where I have had, against Michaelmas, six or seven fat oxen, and five or six fat cows, I have now neither cow nor ox, but must seek all from the shambles. A sequestration being given out, I may, with honesty, break up house for a space, which will save me twenty or thirty pounds in my purse. But I trust you will think better of this matter."—"These times," he says, "make me so tired of housekeeping, that I would I were discharged of it, if it could be with a clear conscience."

Even when he was absent from home, the same hospitable reception was provided for strangers and travellers; the poor were supplied with food, and his neighbours entertained.

His house was the frequent resort of men of learning and piety, in whose society he experienced great pleasure; and amongst whom he was well calculated to shine, being distinguished by a lively imagination, a retentive memory, and a sound judgment; having acquired a large fund of information, being familiar with languages, history, and theology, and deficient in none of the branches of knowledge which were cultivated in those times. Although his mind was of a grave and serious complexion, yet, amongst his particular friends, he was usually cheerful, and often facetious. He was candid and indulgent, and free from moroseness. He read poetry with good taste, and is related, by bishop Carleton, to have been no mean poet himself, although he made little use of this, or of any other talent, which was not requisite for the work of the ministry.

Amongst those whom his reputation and worth attracted to his hospitable mansion, was lord Burleigh, the treasurer of queen Elizabeth. That nobleman, being on his return from Scotland, whither he had gone to transact some business for his sovereign, arrived unexpectedly at Houghton, for the purpose of paying a visit to Mr. Gilpin, whom

he had not seen since the time of Gilpin's sermon being preached before king Edward's court.

The reception and entertainment of this distinguished guest and his retinue were such, that Burleigh often remarked afterwards, that "he could hardly have expected more at Lambeth." He was at once pleased and surprised at this northern clergyman's manner of living. The house was crowded by persons of all kinds, gentlemen, scholars, workmen, farmers, and poor people; yet all was propriety and order: each, on his arrival, was conducted to a suitable apartment, and they were entertained, instructed, or relieved, according as they came for either of those purposes. The statesman contemplated the scene with unmingled feelings of satisfaction, and admired the simplicity of manners, the calm and orderly repose, and the unbounded liberality which prevailed in this quiet retreat. Piety towards God, and charity towards men, diffused such an air of serenity and happiness all around, that he would fain have prolonged his visit to that favoured dwelling. But public affairs made it necessary for him to proceed, and, embracing his respected friend with the warmth of sincere regard, he assured him that much as he had heard of his worth and virtues, the half had not been told him: "If," added he, "I can ever be of service to you at court or elsewhere, apply to me with unreserved freedom, and you may depend upon my zealous exertions in your behalf."

He then bade Mr. Gilpin farewell; and when he arrived at Rainton-hill, which rises about a mile from Houghton, he turned his horse to take a parting look at the spot which he had visited with so much delight, and exclaimed, "There is the enjoyment of life indeed! Who can blame that man for not accepting a bishopric? What could make him greater, or happier, or more useful to mankind?"

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## CHAPTER VII.

## HIS OLD AGE, DEATH, AND CHARACTER.

Say not it dies, that glory,  
 'Tis caught, unquenched on high;  
 Those saint-like brows, so hoary,  
 Shall wear it in the sky.  
 No smile is like the smile of death,  
 When all good musings past  
 Were wafted with the passing breath,—  
 The sweetest thought the last.—*Christian Year.*

THE burden of the labours which Mr. Gilpin had undertaken as a pastor in the church of Christ, was more than he was able to bear without undermining the strength of his constitution. He spoke of himself, in his letters, as being “much charged with business, or rather overcharged.”—“I am first greatly burthened,” he says on one occasion, “about seeing the lands made sure to the school; which are not so yet, and are in great danger to be lost, if God should call me afore they are assured. Moreover, I have assigned to preach twelve sermons at other parishes besides my own; and likewise am earnestly looked for at a number of parishes in Northumberland, more than I can visit. Besides, I am continually encumbered with many guests and acquaintance, whom I may not well refuse. And often am I called upon by many of my parishioners to set them at one when they cannot agree. And every day I am sore charged and troubled with many servants and workfolks, which is no small trouble to me; for the buildings and reparations in this wide house will never have an end.” And although this letter relates to some one particular period, yet it may be considered as giving a correct idea of the continual demands upon his time and his thoughts. “To sustain all these travels and troubles,” he says, “I have a very weak body, subject to many diseases; by the monitions whereof, I am

daily warned to remember death. My greatest grief of all is that my memory is quite decayed; my sight faileth; my hearing faileth; with other ailments, more than I can well express."

As he thus advanced in years and decreased in strength, he found it necessary to withdraw from the extensive labours in which he had engaged during the fulness of his vigour, and to confine himself to such pastoral duties as he could discharge in the neighbourhood of his home.

His school, which was situated near his house, engaged his particular attention. He watched its progress, and promoted its usefulness by his personal superintendence. He altered and amended its statutes so as to guard, as much as possible, against the abuse of his charity. He induced his neighbours to provide the means of making some requisite additions to its endowment, which it was beyond his power to contribute. And he applied to his friend the earl of Bedford, to obtain for it a charter; in reference to which he received the following letter:—

After my very hearty commendations, hoping in God you are in good health, who, as He hath well begun in you, so may He keep and continue you a good member in his church, I have moved the queen's majesty for your school; and afterwards the bill was delivered to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, a very good and godly gentleman, who procured the same to be signed, as I think you have before this heard by your brother. Assuredly you did very well and honestly therein, and have deserved great commendations. A thing most necessary in those parts is this of all other, for the well-bringing up of youth, and training them in learning and goodness. In any thing that I may stand you in stead, I pray you be bold to use me, whom you may assure yourself to remain ready to do you any good that I can. So for this time I commend you to God.

Your assured friend,

*Russell Place, March 26, 1571.*

F. BEDFORD.

That such a man as Bernard Gilpin should have been permitted to enter the vale of years without the poisoned arrows of calumny aggravating the sorrows of age, would

be but a natural supposition. Yet such exemption was not conceded to him. It appears, from one of his letters, that he was accused of having spoken and preached against the marriage of the clergy. In answer to this charge, he declared that always, "as opportunity served, he had spoken in defence of priests' marriage." The following passage beautifully exhibits the tenour of his thoughts, and contains salutary advice to the propagators of uncharitable rumours.

You say I am called hypocrite; I know I am so [called] of divers. How they will answer God's law therein, I leave to their own conscience. But verily, for my own part I can thank them; for when I hear it, I trust in God I gain not a little thereby in studying clearly to subdue that vice; which I have strived against ever since I studied the Holy Scriptures. And I suppose very few, or no preachers in England, have preached oftener against that vice than I; and that, as I trust, with a clear conscience.

But to make an end at this time, (because this bearer can show you what small time I have, being sore overcharged with manifold studies and businesses,) it is time, good Mr. Wren, both for you and me (age and sundry diseases, messengers of death, giving us warning), more deeply to ripe our own consciences, and more diligently to search our own faults, and to leave off from curious hearkening and espying of other men's; especially when it breedeth contention, and can in no wise edify. I pray you read St. James, the latter part of the third chapter, and there learn from whence cometh contentious wisdom. And this I beseech you remember, that it is not long since God did most mercifully visit you with great sickness. At that time, I doubt not but you lamented sore your duty forgotten in your life past; and for the time to come, if God would restore you to your health, I trust you promised a godly repentance and reformation of life. Good Mr. Wren, if you have somewhat forgotten that godly mind, pray to God to bring it again; and, being had, keep it. Pray in faith, and, St. James saith, God will hear you, whom I beseech evermore to have you in his blessed keeping.

Your loving friend to his power,

BERNARD GILPIN.

His old adversary, chancellor Barnes, also gave him some trouble; but he bore all that befell him with fortitude, and found for himself in the gospel that comfort and support which he knew so well how to communicate to others in their trials and sorrows.

Mr. Gilpin's death was hastened by an accident which happened to him at Durham. As he was crossing the market-place, an ox ran at him, and knocked him down with so much violence, that death was expected to be the immediate consequence of his fall. He was for a long time seriously ill, and although he was afterwards able to resume some of his pastoral labours, he never recovered even that small share of health which he had before, and continued lame to the end of his days. But such afflictions could not break his spirits, for he had long learned to account every dispensation of sorrow as being expressly designed to remind us of some neglected duty; he therefore received the chastening of the Lord with thankfulness, rather than repining, and proceeded to use it for its intended purpose, by carefully examining his ways.

About the beginning of February, in the year 1583, he judged, from the great decay of his strength, that his hour was at hand; and soon after he was unable to leave his chamber. At this time he spoke of his approaching death with that settled composure which might be expected in one who had been preparing for it all his days. When he seemed to be just on the confines of eternity, he called together his friends, acquaintances, and household, and having been raised in his bed, addressed to them a word of solemn and affectionate admonition. He first sent for the poor, and beckoning them to his bedside, told them that he was bidding a last farewell to the world; that he hoped that at the great day of account they would be witnesses that he had endeavoured to execute his ministry faithfully among them, by teaching them publicly, and from house to house; and he prayed God to have them in remembrance after his departure. He desired them

not to weep for him, and besought that, if he had ever given any good instructions, they would cherish them in their memories when he should be no more present with them. Above all things he exhorted them to fear God and keep his commandments, assuring them that if they would do this they could never be left comfortless.

He next requested that his scholars might be assembled in his chamber, and spoke to them with that affectionate interest which breathed through all his intercourse with them. He reminded them that they now enjoyed a precious opportunity of preparing to be useful in the world, and told them that learning was of great value, but that virtue was even more precious.

He then addressed a word of counsel to his servants, and afterwards sent for a few of his parishioners, amongst whom he had not yet seen the expected fruit of his labours, and upon whom he thought that the words of their dying pastor might make a solemn impression.

Ere he had finished these exhortations, his speech began to falter. The remaining hours of his life he spent in prayer and broken conversation with some chosen friends, to whom he spoke of the consolations of Christianity, and declared that they were the only sure stay and support of the soul, and that nothing else could bring a man peace at the last. On the 4th of March, 1583, he entered into his rest, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. His mortal remains were deposited amongst the ashes of those with whom he had lived and died as a messenger of the Lord.

Mr. Gilpin was of a tall and slender figure, wore plain and simple apparel, and was temperate, and even abstemious in his diet. In his youth he appears to have given way occasionally to a passionate temper, but he soon brought it into subjection, and at length entirely corrected it.

His contemporaries gave to him two distinguished appellations, which succeeding generations have perma-



nently attached to his name. The first of these is, *The Apostle of the North*; and the other, *The Father of the Poor*;—and, whoever may have examined with attention the preceding pages, will own that Bernard Gilpin justly merited those honourable titles.

The precious records of his life commend him to our admiration and love, as having been diligent and patient in searching for truth, as an invaluable treasure,—faithful and affectionate in discharging the duties of the pastoral care,—zealous and laborious in executing the missionary work amongst the benighted inhabitants of an extensive district,—attached to the principles of the Church, and on that account so much the more grieved at the spots and stains which were suffered to disfigure it,—anxious to train up a learned and pious body of candidates for the sacred ministry,—affectionate in countenancing worthy brethren, and bold in rebuking the unworthy,—firm in resisting the overtures of popery, and, on the other hand, deprecating the bitter animosity of those who, as he considered, were endeavouring to cause needless divisions within the Protestant Church,—and generous on so extensive a scale, that he confined his own personal wants within the smallest compass, in order to scatter happiness and comfort more widely around him. Whether assailed by dangers or temptations, he steadfastly clung to his principles, holding as sacred the dictates of an enlightened conscience, and implicitly submitting all worldly considerations to its decision. He was cheerful, obliging, candid, sincere, and pious, rigidly observant of truth, a man of deep humility, shining as a light in the world by living to his divine Master's glory. He lived to see the fruits of his labours ripening in his parish and neighbourhood, and amongst the rude people of the border; and his example is a permanent honour and blessing to the church, whose annals are adorned with no more complete pattern of christian excellence. The clergyman may learn therefrom to gird about his loins, and to devote his thoughts, his

talents, and his affections, more unreservedly to the cultivation of his allotted field of exertion, while, in common with the private christian, he finds, in every trait of Bernard Gilpin's character, something to quicken him in the pursuit of personal holiness, piety, and obedience to God, and brotherly kindness to his fellow-creatures.

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PHILIP DE MORTIAC.

THE LIFE  
OF  
PHILIP DE MORNAY,  
LORD OF PLESSIS-MARLY.

1549—1623.

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CHAPTER I.

HIS DESCENT.—STUDIOUS HABITS.—CONVERSION FROM  
POPERY.—TRAVELS.

Who did as Reason, not as Fancy bade;  
Who heard Temptation sing, and yet turn'd not  
Aside; saw Sin bedeck her flowery bed,  
And yet would not go up; felt at his heart  
The sword unsheathed, yet would not sell the truth, . . .  
Who blush'd at nought but sin, fear'd nought but God.

POLLOK.

IF we take any interest in contemplating the reformation of religion in our native land, and in meditating upon the successful labours of those whom God employed as his agents in that glorious work, it is likely that our minds will be disposed to look at other countries, and to ask what progress the pure light of the Gospel made amongst them? Turning to France, our neighbour-land, we find that the principles of the Reformation were there met on the threshold, by the fiercest and most cruel opposition. The first public preaching of its doctrines was resisted at Meaux, in 1525, by ignominious scourging, branding, and banishment, and in two instances, by burning to death. Francis the first then occupied the throne, and was a

monarch who stained and dishonoured other periods of his reign by enacting and carrying into execution an edict of blood. In 1549, the next king, Henry the second, celebrated his coronation by a Protestant sacrifice; and in succeeding years, confiscation and death became the frequent lot of the professors of the reformed faith. The period was disgraced by massacre and murder, sometimes perpetrated by popular tumult, but more frequently by legalized violence.

Notwithstanding these wicked attempts to overwhelm the truth, the church grew, and believers multiplied. Persecution, unless it nearly amounts to extermination, can never execute the work for which it is designed; and it has almost received the currency of a proverb, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.

With regard to the spread of the reformed faith in France, no testimony could be more satisfactory than the honest confession of Montluc, bishop of Valence, in a speech addressed to his sovereign in the year 1560. "The doctrine, sire, which so many of your subjects have embraced, is not the hasty produce of three or four short days, but it has been ripening gradually during the course of thirty years; it is preached by many hundred ministers, diligent in their calling, skilled in letters, apparently of modest, grave, and holy manners, professing a detestation of all vices, especially of avarice, fearlessly surrendering their lives for the support of their principles, and ever bearing in their mouths the blessed name of Jesus Christ,—a name of power sufficient to unseal the dullest ear, and to soften the hardest heart. These preachers, moreover, sire, having found your people as sheep without the guidance of any shepherds, have been received with joy, and listened to with avidity\*."

Amongst the converts thus described, there were many

\* *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, by the Rev. E. Smedley, vol. i., p. 131. From this able and interesting work, much information has been derived relative to the French Protestants in those times.

of noble blood, who sacrificed their prospects of worldly advancement in the cause of truth and conscience. Such was the subject of the following memoir, who at an early age became a protestant by conviction; declined the golden rewards which invited him to apostasy, as he grew up; and continued steadfast to the end of his days in that faith which had given comfort in a variety of troubles to himself and his dearest friends, and supported him in the hour of death\*.

Philip de Mornay†, lord of Plessis-Marly, belonged to an ancient family which had been ennobled from an early period of the history of France. The counts and dukes of Etouteville were so intimately connected with it, that they bore the same arms, and their war-cry in the field of battle was ‘For Mornay of Etouteville.’ A knight who belonged to this branch, had rendered good service to William the Conqueror in the invasion of England, and he and his descendants ranked amongst the chief nobility of this kingdom, until the male line became extinct in the year 1242. Other Mornays of Etouteville, remaining in France, bore some of the most distinguished offices in that country, and more than once intermarried with the royal house of Bourbon.

The subject of this memoir descended from another branch of the same family, the members of which had from time to time served their king and their country in many responsible and honourable situations. But it is

\* Authorities.—1. *Histoire de la Vie de Messire Philippes de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis Marly, &c.*, written by his private secretary.—Elzevir edition, 4to., 1647.

2. *Mémoires de Messire Philippes de Mornay, &c.*, containing his correspondence, government-despatches, &c.—Two vols. 4to., 1624-5.

3. A modern edition of the above works with additions. Paris, 1824, 12 vols. 8vo; and a critique on the same, in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 24. May, 1834.

† By this name he is best known to the English reader, and will be found in our Biographical Dictionaries; but by his countrymen, he was and is commonly designated, Du-plessis-Mornay, from his feudal inheritance of Plessis-Marly.

not our purpose to recount their achievements in peace or war; nor yet to reckon up the number of their baronies or possessions. It will be sufficient to state, that the great-grandfather of Philip de Mornay, removed from his estates in Orléans, Berri, and Gastinois, to Vexin, a place situated between Paris and Rouen, where he resided upon property which came into his possession in right of his wife. His grandson was James de Mornay, the representative of this respectable family, who by his wife (descended from a nephew of Rollo the Dane) had two sons, Peter and Philip.

Philip de Mornay was born at the family seat of Buih at Vexin, on the fifth of November, 1549. His father, as a good soldier, had on all occasions served his king cheerfully and faithfully in the wars; but in the time of peace, he devoted himself to the occupations of domestic and rural life, and studiously withdrew himself from the vanities of the court. He had been nurtured in the arms of popery, and was warmly attached to its tenets, and anxiously desired to train up his children in the same persuasion.

On the other hand, his mother had overcome her prejudices against a purer and more spiritual religion; and although she did not make an open profession of her faith, she was not to be daunted by the fires of persecution which blazed around her, from secretly preparing the hearts of her children for the reception of the truth. Her view of scriptural doctrine was a subject which she did not avoid in conversation with her husband, and to her great joy, she beheld the fruits of her labours in his last illness. He then declined participating in any of the superstitious ceremonies of the Romish church, and declared that his hopes of salvation rested wholly on the merits of his Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Philip was originally intended by his father for the priesthood, but chiefly, as it appears, from worldly considerations; since his uncle, a dignitary of the church, had offered to resign some rich and honourable preferments in



his favour. But it is wonderful and delightful to observe, how mercifully the providence of God overrules and often defeats our plans. While Philip was yet of a tender age, the uncle died without remembering his promise, the benefices were conferred upon another relative, and even the reversion was made over to a third candidate.

At the time of his uncle's death, Philip de Mornay was in his eighth year, and was receiving his education from a protestant tutor, named Gabriel Prestat, who was not deterred by any fear of consequences from commending the principles of pure christianity to his pupil. He did not, however, pursue any direct course of theological instruction; not considering, we are told, that the youth's mind was sufficiently matured for such inquiries, and fearing, as we may further suppose, the displeasure of Philip's father.

When he had completed his eighth year, his father accompanied him to Paris, and left him there to study in the university. After two years, towards the end of 1560, he was summoned to attend his father's funeral. The person who came to conduct him to that mournful solemnity was a popish priest, who knowing his mother's aversion to the Romish superstitions, took occasion to exhort him, as they journeyed, "to beware of the opinions of the Lutherans which his mother entertained, and ever to adhere to the religion in which he had been trained and enrolled." To this advice the boy answered, "That he was resolved to continue firm in what he had learned about the service of God, and that whenever he should meet with any doubts or difficulties, he would diligently read the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles." The priest considered this a very bold declaration, and warned him that he was choosing for himself a dangerous path; adding that people were not permitted to read for themselves.

After his arrival at home, his mother and elder brother pressed him to read the protestant catechism; but it appears that, up to this time, he had not entertained a thought of forsaking the faith of his fathers, and he

refused the book which was offered for his perusal. He asked, however, for a New Testament in Latin and French, yet even then he declined using the Geneva edition; but one printed at Lyons being placed in his hands, he eagerly read it, praying God to shed upon him such light as was necessary for the salvation of his soul. From this time, the truth gradually broke upon his heart, and he discovered that many doctrines and services of the Romish church (particularly purgatory, the invocation of saints, and reverence for relics) had no foundation in the Holy Scriptures. It is instructive and edifying to meet with such proofs of the efficacy of God's word, to the benefit of those who read it with the simple desire of learning his blessed will.

As he made progress in his inquiries, (on some branches of which he studied the controversial writings of the times,) he rejected one error after another, till at length, about the end of the year 1561, after the best reflection that his youthful mind could bestow upon the subject, he resolved to renounce the Romish church. Those who are most acquainted with the history of the times, will be best able to appreciate the course pursued by young De Mornay, for they know well that every worldly consideration must have invited him to a far different conclusion, and inclined him to avoid an oppressed and ill-treated sect.

Meanwhile his mother, to whom, under God, he owed the first seeds of his scriptural faith, had not taken so bold a step as that of professing her own convictions openly. Her natural timidity may have shrunk from making a declaration which would have exposed her to indignity and scorn, and perhaps even to barbarous treatment. But God saw fit to visit her about that time with sickness, and she then thought that she was about to bid farewell to her children and the world. Considering, however, that if this illness was not unto death it was sent as an admonition not to conceal her opinions any longer, she made a vow in the hearing of her children, that if God should be pleased in his mercy to restore her

to health, she would make an open profession of her faith. This vow she actually performed towards the end of the same year, (1561.)

After this, he had the advantage of hearing the gospel preached at his mother's house, and of gaining fresh strength in his adherence to the protestant religion. But he longed to resume his studies in Paris, and prevailed with his parent to send him there early in the year 1562. Three months, however, had scarcely passed in the pursuit of knowledge, when tumults broke out in Paris against the Huguenots, (as the protestants were styled,) and the work of persecution was resumed. Fearing that he might be tempted by the example or persuasion of his companions to make shipwreck of his faith, young De Mornay requested his mother to remove him for the present from the university, and he returned home, intending to prosecute his studies privately. This design, however, was frustrated by a tedious and alarming illness, which so seriously affected his mind that he nearly forgot all that he had learned. On his recovery, his thirst for literature returned; and it being once more safe for a protestant to live in Paris, his own entreaties, and those of his friends, induced his mother to consent to his return. Bent upon the acquisition of knowledge, he now devoted no less than fourteen hours a-day to his books, for the space of four years; so that he soon recovered all that he had lost, outstripped all his contemporaries, then became the fellow-student rather than the pupil of his appointed master, and, at length, exchanged places with him, and became his instructor. The most learned men, we are told, admired this proficient scholar; and the great professors were astonished, and spoke his praises in every society. His only recreation was to explain the *Timæus* of Plato, or the works of some author of the same class, to his tutor; during the rest of the day he laboured hard, and only spared himself in regard to sleep, taking care not to encroach upon the natural hours of repose, a rule which he always observed, during the rest of his life.

In Paris he was invited, by the solicitations of worldly interest, to return into the bosom of the Romish church. An uncle, who was bishop of Nantes, arriving in that capital, examined him in the languages and sciences; when, finding that he had attained a proficiency beyond his years, he proceeded to ask him a few questions on the subject of religion. Young De Mornay answered the inquiries with considerable ability; and the prelate embraced him and said, "That he did not wish to press him to forsake his religion until growing years had ripened his judgment;" adding that, "as for himself, he certainly had no objection to suit his opinions to the times." To a sentiment which implied so little care about the soul, his nephew modestly replied, "That if his opinions were erroneous, it was necessary to pluck them out before they had put forth long roots; and that he was willing both to receive instruction, and to give a rational account of his faith." Here the conversation ceased for the present; but next day the bishop again called upon him, and returning to the subject, particularly advised him to read diligently the ancient doctors of the church, with whose works he offered to supply him. But finding that exhortation and counsel availed nothing, he had recourse to another expedient, accounting it an important object to gain over, on any conditions, a young man of such hopeful promise, and moreover his own relation. He, therefore, spoke of the preferments which were open to him in the church; and offered to make him Prior of Vertou, and to resign the bishopric in his favour. By these inducements the bishop endeavoured to influence his nephew's mind, and thus (as the French biographer remarks) the evil spirit employed all his cunning to turn him aside from the truth in his early days, seeing that he was born for the furtherance of the gospel. But he firmly, and at once, declined these offers of his uncle with many thanks, assuring him that he resigned himself wholly to God, from whom he had no doubt of receiving everything needful.

After the bishop's return home, De Mornay wrote many

letters to him, in which he quoted passages from the fathers, in confirmation of the doctrines of the Reformation, and in opposition to the innovations of popery.

About the same time that this attempt was made to induce him to violate his conscience for temporal advantages, he was pressed to maintain a discussion in defence of his religious views; and it may have been in order to stamp himself in the eyes of his friends as a sincere and decided protestant, that he agreed to the terms proposed. A young relative of De Mornay, named Meneville, had boasted in the presence of the marchioness of Rotelin, who was herself a protestant, that he was prepared to dispute with the most learned of the reformed pastors, and could easily convict them of impiety and false doctrine. These were great professions; yet the marchioness did not think it necessary to bring forward a champion of mature age and long experience, but inquired amongst her friends for some young disputant, of about the same age and rank as the forward challenger.

At their suggestion she sent for Philip de Mornay, who, having heard her wishes, replied that although Meneville was a near relation, yet he would not, on that account, decline a proposal in which the glory of God seemed to be concerned, particularly as it was to be a friendly conference. Accordingly, several persons of distinction assembled at the house of the marchioness; purgatory was proposed as the subject of debate; and the victory was awarded even by Meneville himself to De Mornay. The company then proposed that they should try their strength in some other branch of learning, and Hebrew and Greek books were brought forward, and mathematical questions proposed. When the whole discussion was concluded, we are told that Meneville confessed himself inferior to De Mornay in everything.

In 1567, the edicts favourable to the Huguenots were violated with more than usual boldness, and the revocation of them was confidently rumoured to be near at hand. Upon this Philip De Mornay prudently took leave of Paris,

and retired to his mother's house. There he learned that the protestants, alarmed for their liberties and lives, were about to assemble in self-defence; and he earnestly desired to be permitted to bear his sword in company with his two maternal uncles, and his elder brother. His mother reluctantly consented to his departure; but an unexpected accident prevented the accomplishment of his wishes. On his way to the army, his horse fell with him and broke his leg, which compelled him to return home and remain quiet for many months. During this confinement, he employed himself in writing a poem upon the civil wars, and some sonnets in praise of the gallant Coligny.

At the time of his recovery, a treaty for the suspension of hostilities was in force, and he began to think of travelling in foreign countries; a plan towards which he was the more inclined, by a belief that some of the celebrated baths might materially assist in restoring the full use of his injured limb. It was then, however, no easy matter for a French protestant to pass safely through his own country, for the towns were full of troops, and the people in a state of bigoted excitement; so that it was not without fatigue and peril that he made his way to Geneva. Finding the plague in that city, he proceeded on his journey, passing through Switzerland into Germany, where he spent the winter of 1568 and the following summer, in the house of the celebrated scholar, Emmanuel Tremellius, at Heidelberg. Being the bearer of letters of introduction to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, he met with a gracious reception from that prince. At Heidelberg, he commenced the study of jurisprudence; he also acquired so ample a knowledge of the German language in the space of six months, that he could converse with the natives with ease, and read any book which was put before him.

In the autumn of 1569, he proceeded to Frankfort, where he made a most valuable acquaintance with M. Languet, a person of distinguished learning, piety, and experience. This excellent man regarded young De Mornay with a parental affection, and the latter esteemed

Languet with filial respect and love. Languet gave him such advice as might be useful in his travels, and furnished him with letters of introduction to the French ambassador at Venice. On his way to that city De Mornay stayed some time at Padua, to acquire a more correct knowledge of the canon and civil law; "not that this was the principal object," says the French biographer, "but while he sought, above all things, such knowledge as appertained to the Christian religion, he desired not to be ignorant of anything." The hours which were not devoted to study, he passed in such exercises as were common to men of his station; and in order that he might turn even his moments of relaxation to good account, he spent every evening in the botanical gardens, learning the names and nature of flowers and herbs, and making such proficiency in the science as astonished the eminent botanist who had the charge of the gardens. During the same period, he read the principal part of the Old Testament in the original language with the Jewish rabbins, one of whom was accounted the best Hebrew scholar of his day.

Circumstances arising in Padua to occasion a strict search to be made throughout the city for all protestants, our young traveller journeyed onward to Venice. But there, also, his religion very nearly brought him into trouble, for an officer of the inquisition sent to demand an answer upon oath to certain questions. He answered that his religion did not permit him to take it. Now this reply might be taken in two senses, either as signifying that he was a monk\*,—one who belonged to a religious order,—or, according to the French idiom, it might mean a protestant, since protestants were commonly called "those of the religion†." In this latter sense we are told that De Mornay used the expression, and without any intention to equivocate or conceal his principles; but the officer, taking it in the former signification, expressed

\* Religieux.

† Ceux de la religion.

his surprise at seeing so young a monk. "There are many younger amongst us," was all the reply. The officer took out his pen, made a note of what had passed, went his way, and was heard of no more.

At another time he incurred considerable risk by not doing reverence to some passing Romish superstition. Standing in the midst of a large assemblage, with the doge of Venice and many of the nobility, when the host was carried by, the whole multitude, himself alone excepted, fell on their knees, uncovering their heads. But neither did any harm arise to him out of this incident.

In other places also he was exposed to danger on account of his religion, but, by the favour and guidance of God, he escaped from it without wounding his conscience; "and often have I heard him declare," writes the secretary, "that he was never more strongly attached to his religion than at this time, and never more completely withdrawn from the pleasures of youth, since he feared lest he should be a stumbling-block to his associates, who were acquainted with his profession of the gospel." He made religion a frequent topic of conversation, and stood firm in his scriptural principles. When the marquis of Pisani arrived in Venice, as ambassador extraordinary from Charles the ninth of France, that nobleman, observing that De Mornay was a young man of generous spirit and cultivated mind, employed every kind of allurements to bring him back to the faith of his ancestors. He told him that if he continued a protestant, the way of advancement in the world was closed against him for ever; but that if he would forsake those tenets, no time should be lost in recommending him to the special favour of his sovereign. "I thank you for your kindness," was the noble reply of this youth, "but never can I prefer the honours of the world, no, not the highest it can bestow, to the salvation of my soul."

He now wished to extend his travels into the East, but the war between Venice and Turkey prevented his accom-



plishing this purpose; so he next resolved to see more of Italy. In 1571 he set out from Venice, and following the shores of the Adriatic, passed round the whole border of that country, till he reached Genoa. During this extensive tour he gathered much information with regard to the several states through which he passed; not only examining their remains of antiquity, but also carefully investigating the origin, rise, and decline of each, the causes of such changes as they had undergone, the spots where feats of arms had been achieved and battles fought, and the names of those who had conquered and overthrown the towns. This was his invariable practice in all his travels, and although he afterwards lost his notes, yet his memory was so well stored with the fruits of his observation, that he could always impart information whenever any place which he had visited became the subject of conversation.

From Genoa he returned to Rome, and by the way he narrowly escaped being placed in a most unpleasant and even perilous situation. In consequence of an extraordinary earthquake, which alarmed the whole neighbourhood of Spoleto, it had been resolved that peculiar honours should be paid to an image of the Virgin Mary, whom the poor deluded people supposed to have the power of granting them protection; and any traveller upon that road who did not turn aside to salute the idol, was in danger of his life. Here, then, would have been a severe trial for our young traveller; but happily so it was, that on the very day that he was to pass through Spoleto, a mandate had arrived from the pope, releasing travellers from the necessity of making a pilgrimage which he had not decreed, until he should have investigated the claims of the image to such honours. The inhabitants, however, were far from satisfied with this papal injunction, and stopped De Mornay as he passed in front of the oratory, commanding him to alight from his horse; but he refused to comply with their wishes, and they suffered him to proceed.

During the rest of his journey, he had opportunities of detecting the falsehood of the miracles alleged to have been wrought by the saint.

But at Rome he was again in danger. The inns at which he had rested were all full of friars, flocking to the city to attend a grand assembly of their order, and it appears probable that on their arrival some of them communicated to the authorities the suspicions which they entertained with regard to this traveller, in consequence of the conversations they had held with him by the way. Be this as it may, an officer found out his lodgings, and demanded his name, his country, his business, and other particulars. Not knowing what might be the issue of these inquiries, De Mornay thought it prudent to leave Rome for a few days; he therefore retired to Tivoli, from which place he returned after a while, and inspected the interesting and beautiful buildings and remains of the ancient and modern city, without further molestation.

In his visits to Cremona, Milan, and other places, he was again put to some inconvenience and trouble by the intolerant spirit of popery; and had some very narrow escapes. But at length, having accomplished his proposed excursion, he arrived safe and in good health at Venice. In these wanderings, he always endeavoured to make acquaintance with men of learning, and particularly with those who had any inclination to the protestant religion, whose conversation tended to attach him more warmly to that faith.

From Venice he went into Austria, where he stayed some time at Vienna; departing from thence, he made a tour through Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Hesse, and Franconia, wintering at Cologne, (1571.) Amongst his most intimate acquaintances in this city, was father Ximenes, a Spanish divine, with whom he frequently conversed upon religious controversies. The Spaniard confessed that errors had crept into his church, but strongly objected to separation from it; and De Mornay

afterwards published a Latin treatise on the subject, to which Ximenes, although pressed by his friends, did not think fit to reply.

He also met several gentlemen of the Low Countries at Cologne, and sympathizing with them upon the tyranny and perfidy of the king of Spain\*, particularly in his treatment of Rotterdam, wrote two remonstrances, in which he advised the Flemings as to their conduct in the present emergency. The sentiments expressed in these documents, were highly acceptable to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who ever after reposed great confidence in him, as an able and judicious counsellor.

Meanwhile, nothing was allowed to interrupt his studies, which provided his chief source of pleasure. In this winter (1571-2), he made great progress in his examination of the writings of the Fathers, and of the canon-law and other codes.

In the spring, he passed through Flanders into England. The report of his talents and acquirements had already reached this country, and even queen Elizabeth had heard of his merits, and was disposed to look favourably upon him. She received him with a most gracious welcome, and afterwards showed him many marks of her esteem. De Mornay himself testified his respect for our protestant sovereign by presenting to her a poem, in which he urged her to hasten the fall of antichrist, and the restoration of the true church.

During his stay in England, he met two distinguished ministers of the king of France, (Montmorency and D'Oignon,) who had been sent over to conclude an alliance between the queen and their royal master. They were also commissioned to salute Mary, queen of Scots, in the name of their king, and to deliver to her some secret despatches; and they proposed to De Mornay that he should go to Coventry, the place of Mary's imprison-

\* For a short review of the sufferings of the Low Countries, or United Provinces of the Netherlands, under the Spanish dominion, see HUME's *History of England*, chap. XL., anno 1571.

ment, to execute this object of their mission. But when he heard that he was to be employed in practising a deceit, he declined the commission; and the ambassadors, strongly commending his independent spirit and high sense of honour, withdrew their request. Having now resided for some months in England, he returned to France, in July, 1572.

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## CHAPTER II.

### ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.

But who can paint what dire confusion reign'd,  
 What waves of blood the streets of Paris stain'd,  
 What piercing shrieks were heard, what dying groans?  
 Torn from her breast, and dash'd upon the stones,  
 The mother, dying, own'd her infant dead!  
 Sons o'er their fathers' bleeding bodies bled!  
 Men, women, children perish'd, sex nor age,  
 Beauty nor innocence, escaped their rage!

. . . . .  
 Some few indeed survived!

*Translation of VOLTAIRE'S Henriade.*

RETURNED to his native land, the first steps of Philip de Mornay were directed towards the house of his excellent mother. With her he passed a few days, and then hastened to Paris to submit to the consideration of his friend, the admiral Coligny, a *Discourse to the King*, and a *Remonstrance*, both designed to procure some assistance for the oppressed Flemings, against the tyranny of Spain.

The admiral took an early opportunity of presenting these documents to the king; but Charles's mind appeared to be engrossed with the preparations for the approaching marriage of his sister Margaret with Henry king of Navarre. His thoughts were really engaged upon a scheme of the darkest and most cruel wickedness, in order to effect which, he had invited all the Huguenot

nobles and gentlemen to Paris, to be present at the royal nuptials.

De Mornay already began to entertain some suspicions, which, as will presently appear, were soon frightfully exceeded in reality; and when the admiral, having returned from the king, told him that it was inexpedient to make further efforts in behalf of Flanders until after the marriage, he remarked to his friend, that all good people foreboded ill from this marriage, and that he feared it would end in misfortune to the admiral, and to all the protestants in Paris. Coligny listened with attention, and then replied,—“I know well, my young friend, that neither the queen-mother nor the duke of Anjou wish me well, but the king does me the honour to converse with me with so much frankness, that I cannot suspect any sinister purposes on his part.” He added, that he felt himself exposed to calumny and misrepresentation, whatever steps he might take; and, therefore, that he had made up his mind to endure patiently whatever God might see fit to send him.

De Mornay participated so little in the hopeful feelings entertained by many of his party, that on the day of the marriage he scarcely left his lodgings. On the following Friday, he called to take leave of the admiral for three days, intending to conduct his mother home to her country-seat. But on the same day, as he was proceeding to pay another visit, one of his servants approached him hastily, and informed him that the admiral had been shot. Agitated by these tidings, he hastened to his friend's assistance, found him severely wounded, and helped to convey him to his hotel.

De Mornay's suspicions of impending evil were greatly increased by this wicked attempt to assassinate the distinguished leader of the protestant party. He instantly hastened his mother's departure from Paris, but resolved, notwithstanding her earnest entreaties, to remain there himself, and to share whatever fate might befall his friends.

On Saturday evening, August 23, 1572, which preceded the day of the most barbarous massacre that ever disgraced the annals of a civilized country, he returned at a late hour from the admiral's residence, and saw, as he passed through the streets, that the citizens were armed. He had previously engaged apartments nearer to his friend, but they could not be prepared for his reception before the following Monday; he therefore regretted, as he retired to rest, that in the mean time he should be unable to render succour to Coligny at a moment's notice, in case of any riotous proceedings.

Very early in the morning he sent to inquire about the admiral's health. It was the fatal anniversary of St. Bartholomew, and his affrighted messenger hurried back with the intelligence that assassins had broken into the admiral's hotel. De Mornay started from his bed, dressed himself in haste, and exclaiming "God will preserve me from this danger, and avenge the crime," was about to sally forth, when the ruffians arrived at his lodgings. Without a moment's delay he burned his papers, and concealing himself under the roof of the house, remained there until he knew that the wretches had departed.

That day, the streets of Paris were deluged with protestant blood. Neither age, nor rank, nor sex were considered, neither private virtues nor public achievements; but all who were suspected of attachment to the reformed religion, were assassinated without mercy. The rest of the Sabbath-day passed in extreme anxiety to De Mornay, for his own safety and that of his friends.

On Monday, the populace, like a hound that has just dipped his tongue in gore, thirsted for further prey, and their frenzy and murderous work augmented in violence and extent. The landlord of De Mornay's house, anxious for his escape for the sake of them both, implored him to seek some more secure retreat; declaring that his further stay would inevitably bring ruin upon the whole family. While they were conversing, the murderers arrived at the

next house, which they pillaged, having barbarously killed its master.

On hearing this, De Mornay assumed a plain black dress, put on his sword, and departed, proceeding through the street of St. Martin into an alley called Troussevache, to the house of one Girard, a law-agent, who transacted the business of his family. He found Girard standing at the door, and by him was favourably received,—a circumstance of no small importance at that particular moment, for the captain of the watch was passing, and his suspicions might easily have been awakened. Girard promised that measures should be taken for his escape on the following morning, and in the mean while placed him at one of his desks, that he might pass for a clerk. But he was very near being discovered through the frequent arrival of his servants, who, wishing to follow their master, thought that the attorney would be able to afford some information about him, and were observed to enter the house one after another. When night came, the captain of the district sent to Girard, and commanded him to deliver up the person who was concealed in his house.

Tuesday dawned, the third day of the massacre, and as it was likely that the captain's neglected order would now be enforced, De Mornay prepared for flight at break of day. While he was anxiously consulting about the best way of escape, one of the clerks offered to accompany him, and to procure his egress at the gate of St. Martin, saying that he was known there, having often been himself on guard. They accordingly set out, but on reaching the street, De Mornay perceiving that the clerk was only dressed in slippers, requested him to return and equip himself in a garb more suitable for a long journey; the clerk thought it better not to delay, and they went on. When they reached the gate, they found to their great dismay that it was not to be opened that morning; they were therefore obliged to change their course, and sought the gate of St. Denis, where unhappily the clerk was

wholly unknown. However, after many particular inquiries, they were suffered to pass; De Mornay representing himself as Philip Mornay, an attorney's clerk, going to spend the holidays with his relatives at Rouen. A few minutes after their departure, one of the guard observed to his comrades, that the clerk's companion could not be going so far as Rouen, for he was only in his slippers; and then a suspicion arose that this must have been a protestant under the guidance of a popish friend.

It was immediately resolved to despatch four fusileers in pursuit, who accordingly arrested them at the village of Villette, where the populace assembled in a most tumultuous manner, and in their bigoted zeal would have torn De Mornay to pieces, if he had not protected himself with his sword. The clerk being alarmed at the violence which was used, began to lose all self-possession, and spoke of his companion by his real name and title of Du-Plessis, and in several ways contradicted the account which they had previously given of themselves. But God closed the ears and blinded the minds of this furious rabble, so that no evil arose from this mistake; and De Mornay, satisfied that he was still unknown, reminded them that they would be sorry to have killed an innocent person, and assured them that he could refer them to respectable individuals in Paris, adding that if they would take him into the suburbs which were not far off, and leave him under whatever guard they pleased, he could easily put them in a way to obtain satisfaction about him. Some of the more moderate approved of the proposal, and after much ado, he was conducted to a neighbouring tavern.

But this was only a respite; and what might be the result of a mission to Paris was a question of great uncertainty. He was surrounded by dangers, and a cruel death might be his lot ere many hours had elapsed. Under these circumstances, he first thought of making a bold attempt to escape through the window, but further reflection led him to rely for safety upon sheer assurance.



He, therefore, referred them to the Rambouillets, even to the cardinal, their brother, hoping that such great names might obtain their respect, and being likewise sure that he should gain time, since a deputation from a mob would never be admitted into the presence of persons of such distinction. But the populace were not so easily deluded, and demanded other references. Just at this moment the public carriage to Rouen made its appearance, and, as he had said that he belonged to that city, they stopped the vehicle to inquire whether he was known by any of the passengers; but when all appeared equally unacquainted with his person and his assumed name, the mob were the more persuaded that he was an impostor, and many of them vehemently cried out that he ought to be thrown into the river.

For his release from this perilous situation he was ultimately indebted to the kind offices of Girard. De Mornay had sent two of the rioters to him with these lines:—"Sir, I am detained here by the guard of the gate of St. Denis; they will not believe that I am your clerk, Philip Mornay, going to visit my relations during the vacation, with your permission. I beg you to satisfy them that this statement is correct, in order that I may be allowed to proceed on my journey." Girard, on receiving this note, appeared highly indignant at the detention of his clerk, and instantly wrote on the back of the paper, "Philip Mornay is neither a rebel nor disaffected," and signed his name. A little boy, however, belonging to the house, was near being the innocent cause of his detection, by saying that the clerk had only been there since yesterday morning; but the two men did not notice the remark, and, satisfied with Girard's testimony, they went back to their companions, and all, with one consent, conducted the travellers to the spot where they had first detained them, and set them at liberty.

Grateful for this providential escape from a cruel death, he now hastened forward on his journey. At Chantilly he borrowed a horse from his friend, Montmorency, who,

apprehensive of some evil designs, had quitted Paris a few days before the massacre. At Yvry-le-Temple, where he remained a night, some persons, who probably believed him to be a fugitive heretic, observed to each other that they smelt a Huguenot. He appeared unmoved, and, entering into conversation with some of the travellers at the inn with an air of indifference, effectually removed all suspicion.

Arrived at his mother's seat, he found that the family had dispersed in various directions, and that she had taken refuge in the house of a neighbouring gentleman. He followed her to her retreat, where she received him with gratitude and delight; overpowered with joy at being permitted again to embrace a son whom she had already numbered amongst the victims of that inhuman butchery.

Having stayed with her for a few days, to comfort her in this season of danger and alarm, he communicated to her his intention of passing into England, and there watching for an opportunity of rendering service to their holy cause. Together with many other fugitives, he embarked in a small vessel at Dieppe, and, after having encountered considerable peril in a storm, landed at the port of Rye.

The great and the learned in England received De Mornay with marked kindness\*; owing, in part, perhaps, to the remembrance of his former visit, but also in a great measure, to the affectionate interest with which two of his friends regarded his welfare. One of these was M. Languet, the same whom we have mentioned already as having cultivated his acquaintance at Frankfort. He was

\* The English nation at large sympathized with the persecuted French protestants; and some idea of their feelings may be formed from the manner in which the French ambassador was received at Elizabeth's court, when he came, by his king's command, to allege the detection of a conspiracy of the Huguenots as the occasion of the recent barbarities. "Nothing could be more awful and affecting," says Hume, "than the solemnity of his audience. A melancholy sorrow sat on every face. Silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the

in Paris at the time of the massacre, as ambassador from the elector of Saxony and some other German princes; and, relying upon the privileges of his office, (to which the law of nations attaches inviolable security,) he had traversed the city to find De Mornay, and to save him from destruction. In this generous search he had nearly fallen a victim to his friendship, by the hands of an infuriate populace. When he learned that De Mornay had escaped with his life, he wrote to all his friends in Germany and England, and desired that wherever they might hear of him, they would supply him with as much money as he required.

The other friend was Walsingham, the queen's ambassador at the court of France; who, of his own accord, wrote to Elizabeth, and to many of the nobility of the kingdom, recommending De Mornay to her royal patronage, and to their esteem, as a young man of the highest character, and worthy to be trusted in the most important affairs.

In England he refreshed his spirits by prosecuting his favourite studies: he also wrote some short treatises, both in Latin and French, in which he besought queen Elizabeth to succour the afflicted church to which he belonged, and repelled the calumnies with which the French protestants were assailed.

He was now at a loss to decide what plans he should adopt with regard to his future life. Different schemes passed in review before his mind. He thought of visiting Sweden, where a member of his family held an honourable post; again, it occurred to him to offer himself to

royal apartment; the courtiers and ladies, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed him to pass, without affording him one salute or favourable look; till he was admitted to the queen herself. That princess received him with a more easy, if not a more gracious, countenance; and heard his apology without discovering any visible symptoms of indignation." Her answer to him, however, clearly showed her conviction that the crime was one which no pretences or excuses could blot out.

serve in the wars in Ireland; and he even entertained the project of assembling the refugees who, like himself, had been received in England, and conducting them as a colony to America.

But circumstances arose which opened the way for his speedy return to his native country. The city of Rochelle was one of the few strong-holds which the Huguenots had been able and resolute to retain to the last; and the royal armies were driven back from its walls, in every attack, with a spirit which seemed almost irresistible. The besiegers were under the command of the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, who was at length glad to have a good opportunity provided for his raising the siege without dishonour. The seasonable announcement of his elevation to the throne of Poland occasioned a negotiation, in which it was not necessary that defeat should be confessed; and, after some preliminary conferences, terms of peace were proclaimed on the 10th of July, 1573. These included, on the part of the king, "a general amnesty for the past; a free permission for the exercise of the reformed worship, within the cities of Nismes, Montauban, and La Rochelle; an annulment of all compulsory recantations, and of all judicial sentences passed against the Huguenots during the late war; and a restoration of any dignities and offices of which they might have been deprived. The three cities, in return, consented, without any impeachment of their former immunities, to receive governors appointed by the king, provided they were free from suspicion, and for the next two years, to send four of the chief inhabitants of each, selected at the royal pleasure, to reside as hostages at the court\*."

This, however, was but a hollow peace; and it required no very extraordinary share of foresight to discern an approaching renewal of civil and religious troubles. The treaty of Rochelle was disregarded by the king, and La Nouë, and other protestant leaders, thought that they might strengthen their party by forming an alliance with

\* Smedley, ii. 83, 84.

the duke of Alençon, another of the king's brothers, to whom, at the same time, it appeared not less important to obtain such support as they had it in their power to give.

But this was a step which evidently ought not to be taken without serious consideration; and La Nouë, anxious to adopt the wisest counsels, wrote to his friend De Mornay, then at the early age of twenty-five, requesting him to return to his country, and assist him with his advice. His opinion, with regard to this alliance, differed from that of the veteran commander:—"Our cause," he said, "can never be advanced by so unnatural an union; and religion will be injured and morals contaminated, by being mingled with worldly interests."

His judgment, however, was not followed; but a few months evinced that he had spoken wisely, since the scheme of La Nouë proved worse than fruitless. De Mornay, however, far from withdrawing from the service on account of this difference of opinion, important as it was, cheerfully lent his assistance to prevent that failure which he anticipated, and which really came to pass.

After the death of king Charles the ninth, De Mornay retired to Sedan, where he employed his time amongst his books and papers. It was in this town that he became acquainted with the lady who was afterwards his wife. Madame de Feuquieres, whose maiden name was Charlotte Arbalaste, was the widow of a brave and honourable soldier, who had died of a wound received in battle, about five years before; and having experienced much affliction in the decease of near and dear relatives, as well as in the loss of all her property, by the civil commotions of the times, she had been invited by her mother to reside in Paris, in the year 1570, and was in the midst of danger, for she was a Huguenot\*, on the memorable St. Bartholomew's-day.

\* Her father had in his early life, heard the disputations of Martin Luther and other eminent reformers, at Strasburg; but it was not before the latter part of his life, that he became a pro-

Few of the escapes from that scene of horrors had been more remarkable than her own: the following is her description of it.

“Before I rose from my bed, [on the morning of St. Bartholomew’s-day,] one of my maid-servants, who was of the reformed religion, and had just returned from the city, hastened into my presence in great alarm, and declared to me that a general massacre had commenced. At the moment I was not overpowered by the intelligence, but put on part of my dress; and looking out of my window, I perceived, in the great street of St. Anthony; where I resided, that the whole population was in commotion; many companies of soldiers were there, and all bore white crosses in their hats. I was then satisfied that something of a serious nature was taking place, and sent off to my mother’s house, where my brothers lived, to learn what was the matter. My messenger found them much disquieted, because my brothers were then professors of the protestant faith. Peter Chevalier, bishop of Senlis, my maternal uncle, directed me to remove my valuables, and promised to send some one to find me immediately. But while he was purposing to do so, he received information that M. Charles Chevalier, lord of Eprunes, his brother, who was much attached to the reformed religion, had been killed in the street De Bétizy, where he had taken up his abode in order to be near the admiral Coligny. This was the reason why M. de Senlis forgot me, as well as that he, wishing to make his way through the streets, was arrested; and had it not been for the sign of the cross, which the mob saw him make, (for he had no knowledge of the reformed religion,) his life would have been in danger. Having waited for him some half hour, and seeing that the commotion increased in the street of St. Anthony, I sent my daughter, then three years and a

testant. His last words, as recorded by his daughter, were these: “Thou gavest me a soul fifty-eight years ago: thou gavest it me white and clean; I return it unclean and impure; wash it in the blood of Jesus Christ thy Son!”

half old, in the arms of a female servant, to the house of M. de Pereuze, who was master of requests in the royal household, and one of my kindest relations and friends. He gave the child admission by a back door, and received her under his protection; and sent to assure me that if I liked to go there I should be welcome. I accepted his invitation, and removed to his house with my family, in all seven in number. He did not yet know all that had occurred; but a servant whom he sent to the Louvre brought back intelligence of the death of the admiral, and of a great number of lords and gentlemen; adding that the tumult raged throughout the city. It was then eight o'clock in the morning.

“ Scarcely had I quitted my lodgings, before some of the servants of the duke of Guise entered them, demanded of my landlord where I was, and searched for me everywhere. At last, not being able to find me, they sent to my mother's house; to offer her that if I would bring them a hundred crowns, they would preserve both my life and all my furniture. My mother sent to apprise me of this, at the house of M. de Pereuze; but after having considered it for a moment, I did not think it prudent to let them know where I was, nor yet to go to meet them. I therefore earnestly besought my mother to give them to understand that she could not tell what was become of me, and, at the same time, to offer them the sum which they demanded. As no tidings of me could be obtained, my lodgings were pillaged.

“ There came for refuge, to the house of M. de Pereuze, M. des Landres, &c. &c. . . . . we were more than forty in number; so that, in order to avoid suspicion, M. de Pereuze was obliged to send for provisions to another part of the town, and likewise, himself or his wife to remain at the front door of the house, to say a passing word or two to M. de Guise or M. de Nevers, and other lords who went that way, as well as to the captains of Paris, who plundered all the neighbouring houses of the protestants. We remained there till Tuesday.

“ M. de Pereuze did not act his part so well as not to be suspected; and it was ordered that his house should be searched that day after dinner. The greater number of those who had taken refuge there, now withdrew to some other retreat, and none remained except mademoiselle de Chanfreau and myself. Being obliged to conceal us, he placed her and her maid in a wood-house outside, and me, with one of my female attendants, in an empty loft; at the same time, he disguised and concealed the rest of our people as well as he could. Being in this loft, which was just over his granary, I heard such strange cries of the men, women, and children, whom they were murdering in the streets, and likewise, having left my daughter below, I was thrown into such a state of agitation and even despair, that had it not been for my fear of offending God, I should have thrown myself down headlong, rather than fall alive into the hands of the populace, or see my child massacred, whom I loved more than my own life. One of my servants took her, and carried her through the midst of all these dangers, and went in search of the house of my maternal grandmother, who was then living, and left her there, where she remained till my grandmother's death. . . . .

“ It now became a question how we should best disguise ourselves, in order to seek another asylum. I could not venture to my mother's house, for a guard had been stationed around it. I went to the house of a mareschal, who had married one of his servants, a seditious person, who also was captain of the watch in the quarter where he lived. I promised myself that if his wife showed me compassion he would not do me any injury.

“ My mother came to visit me at night in that abode; she was more dead than alive, and more stupified with terror than myself. I passed that night at the house of this captain mareschal; and it was my lot to hear him continually uttering maledictions against the Huguenots, and to see the booty brought in which had been pillaged from the houses of persons of the reformed religion. He



declared to me, in very strong language, that I must positively go to the mass.

“On the Wednesday morning, my mother sent to the house of M. the president Tambonneau . . . . . to ask him to make some provision for my safety. About mid-day I went there quite alone; and, not knowing my way, followed a little boy, who showed me to the house. They were living in the cloister of Nôtre Dame, . . . . . I entered the house unobserved; and they lodged me in the study of M. de Tambonneau, where I remained all the Wednesday, and till Thursday night. But on Thursday evening, they received information that a search was to be made there for some of their relations, and fearing that, in looking for them, they might discover me, they advised me to change my quarters, which I accordingly did about midnight, between Thursday and Friday.

“They sent to conduct me to the house of a corn-merchant who served them, and was a man of respectable character. I remained there five days, during which I received much attention from the president, and his wife and family; indeed, I partook of so great kindness and assistance from them, that, apart from the relationship which exists between that lady and myself, there never will be a day of my life in which I shall not feel deeply indebted to them.

“On the Tuesday following, my mother having in some degree recovered her breath, and having contrived to induce my brothers to go to mass, in order to preserve them from destruction, thought to save me by the same means, and communicated with me on the subject, through one of our cousins, who, after many conversations which we had together, found me, by the grace of God, most determined in my refusal.

“On the Wednesday morning, my mother, after having employed such means of persuading me to yield, and not receiving an answer in accordance with her wishes, but only a supplication to get me out of Paris,—sent to assure me that she should be under the necessity of

sending my daughter back to me. I had no other answer to make, than that in such case I would take her in my arms, and we would surrender ourselves to be assassinated both together. But in the same hour, I resolved to leave Paris at all hazards, and besought the bearer of the message to go and secure a place for me in the passage-boat, or in any other which might be going up the river Seine. The time that I was in the corn-merchant's lodging was not without its share of anxiety. I occupied a chamber which was immediately above an apartment inhabited by madame de Foissy, (a Roman catholic lady,) which circumstance prevented me from walking in my room, through fear of being discovered; and one could not even venture to light a candle, both on account of her and of the neighbours. When they brought me anything to eat, it was a little morsel concealed under an apron, when they pretended to come for linen for this lady. In fine, I left this lodging on Wednesday, the eleventh day of the massacre, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, and got into a boat which was going to Sens, for my messenger did not like to take my place by the passage-boat, because it was too public, and he feared that some one might recognise me.

“When I got into the boat, I found there two monks, a priest, and two merchants with their wives. On reaching Tournelles, where a guard was stationed, the boat was stopped, and our passports were demanded; each showed their own, except myself, who had none. They then began to declare that I was a Huguenot, and must be drowned, and they required me to come out of the boat. I besought them to conduct me to the house of M. de Voysenon, auditor of accounts, who was one of my friends, and transacted the business of my grandmother, who was a zealous Roman catholic,—assuring them that he would answer for me. Two soldiers of the party took me, and conducted me to the house I had named.

“It pleased God that they should remain at the gate, and allow me to go up stairs. I found poor madame de

Voysenon greatly alarmed, and so completely was I disguised, that she addressed me as a stranger, and took me for one of those who had taken refuge under her roof. I told her husband that I had not time to listen to him, for I thought that the soldiers were following me, that it seemed to be God's will to be served by him in the preservation of my life, that otherwise I considered my doom was fixed. He went down stairs, and assured the soldiers that he had often seen me in the house of madame d'Esprunes, whose son was bishop of Senlis, that they were good catholics, and well known by the public to be so.

"The soldiers sensibly replied, that they were not making any inquiry about that family, but about me. He told them, that he had formerly seen me a good catholic, but that it was not in his power to pronounce whether I was so now. At this instant, a respectable woman came up, and asked them what they wanted to do with me? They said to her, 'By heavens, this is a Huguenot, and must be drowned, for we see how terrified she is!' And truly enough, I thought that they were going to throw me into the river. She answered them, 'You know me; I am no Huguenot: I go every day to mass; but I am so frightened, that for these eight days past, I have been in a fever.' One of the soldiers answered with an oath, 'And I, and all of us, have been pretty well agitated.' Thus they took me back to the boat, assuring me that if I had been a man, I should not have escaped so easily.

"Just at the time when I was arrested in the boat, the lodging which I had quitted was ransacked, and if I had been found there, I must have incurred great danger."

Madame de Feuquieres departed from Paris without any further hinderances; but considerable peril attended the progress of her flight. At the place where they slept, the monks and the merchants chuckled together over the massacre of the protestants, and charged her with speaking in the tone of a Huguenot. After leaving the river,

she lodged in disguise in a country village, and narrowly escaped the vigilance of the soldiery, who were sent to search like bloodhounds for victims. She next went to her grandmother's estate, and thence proceeded to the house of her eldest brother; but he, to save his life, had consented to go to mass, and had not courage to give shelter to his sister when he found that she resolutely refused to follow his example. She therefore proceeded, scantily supplied as she was with money and clothing, to Sedan; where she arrived on All-Saints' day, November the first, and received every needful comfort and kindness from numerous friends whom she found there assembled. And in the midst of her afflictions, she derived great consolation from reading the Word of God, and from other religious employments.

This was the lady upon whom De Mornay looked as one who would comfort and strengthen him in those trials and adversities which seemed likely to encompass his path. "And truly I may say," observes his secretary, "that there was no woman of her time more adorned with every kind of virtue. She had a clear understanding, a judgment uncommonly sound, courage which nothing could shake, and so great a detestation of vice, that even the most noble of her acquaintance feared to incur her censure. Besides this, her heart glowed with charity to the poor; and above all, her zeal for the glory of God, and the advancement of his church, was ardent and conspicuous. There was no temptation of earthly riches to make her his choice, for she had been robbed of all her property, and was then living in exile; but he saw that she was endued with the most precious qualities, and therefore preferred her to all the rich and advantageous connexions which he had opportunities of making."

It was at her request, that, after they were duly affianced, he wrote a treatise on *Life and Death*, which was afterwards printed, and translated into many languages.

Before their marriage, the duke of Guise once more took the field, and De Mornay was called into active

military service. In a battle which ensued, he was wounded and taken prisoner, and indeed narrowly escaped with his life; for after he had fallen into the enemy's hands, an officer, excited to frenzy by the loss of a friend in the engagement, aimed his pistol at him, although happily without effect. He was also endangered by having some important papers and ciphers in his possession, but he contrived to destroy them before he was searched, and after eleven days' detention was released by ransom.

He was married on the third of January, 1576; and in the course of the same year, having seen too plainly the fulfilment of his anticipations, that the duke of Alençon merely combined with the protestants for his own advantage, and cared not how hardly they were dealt with, he took leave of that service. Scarcely, however, had he arrived at home, before he received most pressing letters from the king of Navarre, inviting him to assist him in his counsels; and knowing that La Nouë was that king's chief minister, and that his friend De Foix was then at court on an embassy from the French king, he accepted the invitation, and towards the end of the year, became one of Henry's counsellors.

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#### NOTE ON THE MASSACRE.

POPE Gregory XIII., in the joy of his heart for the destruction of so many heretics, issued his bull for a jubilee to celebrate that event; declaring, in that document, that God had "raised up his most dear son in Jesus Christ, Charles IX., the most Christian king of France, to revenge the injuries and outrages committed against God and the Catholic Church, by the heretics called the Huguenots;" adding that, "with the greatest devotion possible," he had rendered public thanksgiving to God "for this great mercy towards his church, praying Him to give grace and virtue to the said most Christian King, to pursue so salutary and blessed an enterprise," &c. &c. This bull is preserved in STRYPE's *Life of Parker*, and other works.

## CHAPTER III.

COUNSELLOR TO THE KING OF NAVARRE.—VISIT TO ENGLAND.  
—MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS, AND LETTERS.

Firmly his chosen path he trod  
Alike thro' weal and woe,  
His first, best thoughts, he gave to God,  
Whose Word he loved to know.  
Next, to his earthly sov'reign true,  
He bore the statesman's part;  
Then paid the debt to friendship due,  
With fond and faithful heart.—R. B. H.

HITHERTO we have portrayed the life of Philip de Mornay with considerable fulness; and it would be easy to extend his history, so as to fill an ample volume with the interesting and instructive materials provided by his French biographer, and by his remaining papers, correspondence, and published works. But it is necessary to confine this memoir within moderate limits, and therefore we shall put aside in great measure his political and military history, and confine ourselves principally to such particulars as are illustrative of his character as a private individual and a christian.

But lest our partial silence on those points should in any way be construed into an admission that the oblivion into which his name has fallen, in this country at least, is merited, a just regard for his fame requires a few general remarks upon his conduct as a statesman.

The renowned Henry of Navarre, then, had two confidential advisers; and, great as his own genius was, he owed no small share of his glory to their wise and prudent counsels. One of these was the much honoured Sully, whose memoirs have long been familiar to the English student of history. The other was Philip de Mornay, to whom an equal share of applause has never been awarded, and of whom the longest notice in our own language is contained (we believe) in these pages.

To have been thus chosen by so illustrious a general and so distinguished a politician, is no small evidence of the possession of superior abilities; De Mornay's state-papers, yet preserved, warrant the assumption in his case; and the remaining correspondence shows his communications with the king to have been of a most free and confidential nature. Besides this, he was a man of independent character and inflexible integrity. Why then does the history of France contain comparatively few memorials of his worth? The answer is to be found in the very steadiness of his principles, and his firmness in the protestant cause. The Roman catholic writers of French history have been unwilling to own the debt which the great Henry owed to a Huguenot counsellor, whom policy induced him to neglect when policy proclaimed him a convert to popery. Documents, however, are still extant, capable of proving his merits, whenever his claims shall be fairly examined. His history presents a crowded picture of remarkable adventures, feats of valour and military prowess, as well as of wisdom, prudence, and moderation not less conspicuous in the deliberations of the council-chamber.

The first advice which he gave to Henry at the time of entering his service, is highly characteristic of De Mornay. Henry of Navarre had been brought up by his heroic and virtuous mother in the principles of the reformed faith, of which she was one of the brightest ornaments. But at the close of the protestant massacre, the question 'Death or the Mass?' had been proposed to him, and in token of his submission to popery, he partook of the rites of that church. Detained in Paris for nearly four years by the king of France, he had still attended the Romish services; and it was not before the month of February, 1576, that having separated from a party with which he was hunting, he evaded the spies who were appointed to watch his movements, rode hastily into his territory of Guienne, and publicly renewed his profession of the reformed religion. The protestants, however, looked upon

this recantation with an eye of suspicion, thinking that he had been too easily induced to renounce their pure doctrines, and that his irregular habits of life betrayed too surely the absence of any settled religious principles.

It was under such circumstances that De Mornay, being invited to assist him with his counsels, spoke to this prince with a degree of candour to which a royal ear is commonly supposed to be unaccustomed. He assured him, that it was painful to good men to contemplate the lax example of their sovereign, and that virtuous conduct alone was requisite to secure to him the affections of his people. At the same time he proposed to him certain measures by which great satisfaction might be given to the protestant churches.

Next year, when the French states had annulled the edict of peace, and decreed that the popish religion only should be tolerated in France, the protestants prepared to arm in self-defence, and resolved to apply for foreign succour.

Before the passing of this edict, De Mornay had published an eloquent *Remonstrance to the States of Blois*, in which, under the assumed character of a Roman catholic, he showed how unavailing had been the cruel persecutions of former years; and how productive of national happiness, kindness and toleration would be. This appeal concluded in the following strain:—

And now let us remember that we are all men, christians, Frenchmen, all lovers of ourselves, of the church, of our country, believing in one God, confessing one Christ, longing for a reformation in this kingdom. As men let us love, as christians instruct, as Frenchmen support one another. We are ruining our families by war; let us, as lovers of ourselves and of all that is dear to us, demand peace. The church falls into decay, when in warlike attitude we turn from being christians to be despisers of all religion;—let us then here relinquish our arms, and hasten to God with tears, beseeching him to re-establish it amongst us to his glory. The kingdom is composed of two religions; if both are not tolerated, we must resume the war; if war begins it will spread, and so



spreading we shall lose all that we possess. Let us then live amicably together, let us mutually assist to preserve our country from destruction, and let us draw so closely one to another, that discord may never be able to thrust itself in amongst us. . . . . Let us all agree, gentry, clergy, merchants, and labourers, to demand in the first place the preservation of peace, without which all other requests are made in vain. Let this be our preamble, our preface, our foundation. On this good foundation we may build our repose, our safety, our relief. Without this foundation, whatever we demand, and whatever they grant to us, we have nothing to expect but confusion, desolation, and complete ruin. I pray God, who is the King of kings, and who disposes kingdoms according to his good pleasure, that He will be pleased to preserve us, and to secure our king in this kingdom, to reign with him, to establish His own dominion in the midst of our sovereign's, and to give to him, and to the whole assembly which he has seen fit to convoke, such good advice and counsel, that His church may thereby be more and more established, the sceptre strengthened, and all the people restored and reunited in happy repose and tranquillity. Amen.

These exhortations were unavailing. War was decreed; the eyes of all the protestants turned towards England; and the king of Navarre, who was declared Protector of the Protestant League, sent De Mornay on a special mission to queen Elizabeth. Accordingly he embarked at Rochelle; but unfortunately enough, the vessel in which he sailed fell in with the French fleet, and was easily captured. The officers having made several vain attempts to discover the rank and business of their prisoner, and having even examined his servants by torture, were at a loss what to do with their prize, and its passengers and crew. Some were for throwing De Mornay and his suite overboard; others proposed to convey him ashore as a prisoner; a third party wished that they should feign themselves protestants, and pretend that they were sailing to Rochelle, so that they might gain the desired information. But at length it was determined to pillage the vessel, and then, having stripped it of arms, anchor, cable,

sails, and plummet, to abandon it to the waves. The wind was calm when this purpose was put into execution, and they drifted by the tide to Rochelle, where, having withdrawn his papers from the pump in which he had concealed them on the approach of danger, he embarked again a few days after, and arrived at Dartmouth after a voyage of seven days. He proceeded forthwith to London, where he was joined soon after by his wife, who had crossed over to England by way of Dieppe.

The queen received De Mornay in the most gracious manner, and he represented to her majesty the justice of the cause in which the king of Navarre was about to embark, and the shameful intolerance which had revoked the edict, adding, that he was commissioned to apply to her for assistance, and that he did so with the greater confidence, because he knew the generosity of her disposition, which was always anxious to succour the afflicted, and particularly sympathized with the misfortunes of the great and noble, and with those who suffered in the cause of religion. He did not add, that it was her interest to preserve the protestants on the continent from extermination, for he was wise enough to know that it would not be an acceptable argument.

After some evasions, Elizabeth promised a grant of eighty thousand crowns, upon certain conditions, but she could not at that time be induced to assist the protestant cause with troops.

The talents and virtues of De Mornay made him the object of general respect in England, and he now lived on terms of friendly intercourse with sir Francis Walsingham and sir Philip Sidney. These great men conversed freely with him on the most important affairs, and did not disdain to ask his advice. He was also of great use to the ambassadors of the prince of Orange, when they came to seek the assistance of Elizabeth, against the tyranny and oppression practised by Spain in the Netherlands.

He had not quitted England, in September, 1577, when

a peace was concluded in France, on terms which conceded some toleration to the protestant subjects of that kingdom. During this visit he read some of the Greek and Latin fathers, and wrote his treatise on *The Church*, a subject which had been so managed by Romish writers, as to present a great barrier against the progress of the reformed religion. Having submitted his composition to the examination of two French pastors in London, and of all the protestant ministers who were refugees in that metropolis, he published it with their approbation. It was afterwards translated into the English and many other languages; and was productive of this singular fruit, that his cousin, the baron de Meneville, having sat down to answer it, assisted by an eminent popish scholar, was so convinced of the soundness of its argument, that he actually became a protestant.

De Mornay remained in England till the month of June, 1578, when the prince of Orange, and many other estimable and honourable persons, wrote to request his presence and advice in the Low Countries, which, having suffered for many years under the tyranny and barbarity of Spain, had risen in arms, and were struggling for freedom\*. He then went down to Norwich, to take leave of the queen, who gave him a present as a mark of her respect, and appointed a certain cipher by which they might maintain a correspondence.

Flushing was his destination, and he sent his baggage to Gravesend, intending to embark there; but the wind being unfavourable, he proceeded to Dover, and took his passage by a vessel bound for Dunkirk. But now, as well as on his former voyage, he found himself in a most unpleasant predicament. Some fellows, who had been received on board under pretence of being volunteers for the service of Holland, threw off the mask which they had assumed, when they got out to sea, took possession of the ship, changed her course, and plundered the passengers.

\* A brief account of the merits of their case may be found in *Hume's History of England*, under the dates 1571 and 1579.

We are not informed by what means De Mornay got safely to port; but, after his arrival, he wrote to Elizabeth, to complain of the unhandsome treatment which he had experienced at the hands of some of her subjects; upon which she instituted a strict inquiry, and, having arrested two gentlemen who were the leaders of the pirates, caused them to be executed, notwithstanding De Mornay's application that their lives might be spared. He never recovered the papers which he lost on this occasion, comprising, amongst others, some portions of a Latin history of his own times, from the year 1570. Madame de Mornay, who, with her family and servants, remained in London until he had made due provision for their reception in the Netherlands, embarked some time afterwards in the Thames, and, landing at Dunkirk, proceeded to Antwerp, where her husband had taken up his abode as ambassador from the king of Navarre; in which capacity he continued there for about four years.

During this interval the prince of Orange reaped much benefit from his counsels; and when De Mornay finally left the country, he was laden with the acknowledgments and thanks of the people, for the services which he had rendered to them.

We have a few incidents to record belonging to this period. About the middle of the year 1579, his only son was born. At the same time, he commenced, at Antwerp, his valuable work on the *Truth of the Christian Religion*, which was written in hours stolen from the affairs of the world, and was the fruit of long study and anxious thought. By the urgent request of his friend Languet, he translated it into Latin, the year after its publication; and another friend, sir Philip Sidney, thought it no unprofitable employment of his time to commence the translation of it into his native language, and to provide for its completion\*.

\* Dr. Zouch, in his life of sir Philip Sidney, says, "The truths of christianity are happily illustrated, and powerfully enforced, in this excellent volume of Du-Plessis." Dr.

In the spring of 1580, when the king of Navarre was again in arms, he despatched De Mornay once more to England, to negotiate for succour. The application was unwelcome to Elizabeth, and proved unsuccessful; but, after De Mornay's return to Antwerp, he received a letter, written with her own hand, and forwarded by a special messenger, assuring him that he "should be always welcome at her court, and that she had never treated on public affairs with a person more acceptable."

In 1581, he passed two months in France with the king of Navarre; and, on his return to Antwerp, found his habitation a house of mourning. During his absence one of his children had died, his wife and family were in an ill state of health, and Languet, his dear friend, and almost father, was no more. He had, however, the satisfaction to reflect that his little one was removed in the days of its innocence. He could also contemplate the departure of his friend with a large share of comfort and hope. Madame de Mornay, ill as she was, had performed unremittingly the offices of kindness towards her husband's dying friend, and had heard from his lips sentiments worthy of an aged christian, together with the most tender expressions of regard, and a last request that De Mornay

Dr. Hammond refers to this work as a standard treatise on the evidences of christianity. In one of his *Nineteen Letters*, published by Francis Peck, he describes the judicious student as "ascending" from *Tully's Offices, Seneca, &c.*, to divinity, and "beginning with *Grotius de Veritate, or Mornay.*"

Several editions of the English translation have appeared, and, at different times, particular chapters have been reprinted as tracts. In 1645, the parts in which he treats on the immortality of the soul were republished by John Bachelor, M. A., who characterized the author as "a man of no mean parts, and of no common learning. Delicacy of wit, strength of reason, streams of eloquence, with varieties both of solid and curious notions, come all flowing from him." In 1721, the 5th and 6th chapters, which relate to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, were republished by Mr. Bellamy, who styles the author "a great man and a good christian," who, "though a layman, will make no contemptible figure amongst the warmest defenders of our most holy faith."

would take some notice of their friendship in the next book that he published. This wish was complied with, in the preface to the Latin translation of the work last referred to.

In January, 1582, he received the following letter from the king of Navarre, which shows the estimation in which he was held by that prince.

Monsieur du Plessis, before the receipt of your letter, and those which Monsieur the prince of Orange, and Messieurs of the states of the Low Countries wrote to me, I was on the point of sending one to you, to beg you to come to me, according to the promise which you made me. But since they so greatly require your help in the management and direction of their affairs, in which the churches of this kingdom are so much interested; and since they most affectionately beg me to permit you to remain there some time; I give them permission to retain you six months longer, provided that they have so much need of your services. Wherefore I request you to satisfy them, and accommodate yourself in this matter to their wishes and plans; and, in doing this, I shall be as much beholden to you as if it concerned my own affairs. But I pray you to come back to me when the term has expired, and to believe that none will be more welcome. Meanwhile, give me the pleasure of hearing from you every thing that you consider most important, with this assurance, that no person in the world possesses more of my friendship than yourself, and that I will prove this to you by all the means that I can employ, or that you can desire of me, who pray God to have you, Monsieur du Plessis, in his holy and worthy keeping.

Your very affectionate friend,

HENRI.

Below, the following postscript was written with the king's hand.

Monsieur du Plessis, if with the good will and consent of the states of that country you can return sooner, I shall be very glad of it. I beg you to keep me in their favour and affection. Contrive also, I beg you, with the lord Walsingham, that I may recover my jewels which are pledged in England; and be assured that, if you can contrive this, you shall receive my acknowledgments.

This letter was dated January 14, 1582.

On his return to France, in the same year, in compliance with the king's command, Henry offered to make him chancellor of his kingdom. But De Mornay declined the office, as a post unfit for a soldier, from which profession he was unwilling to retire; and recommended his friend, Du Ferrier, a man of high reputation, an excellent lawyer, and one who had been employed in many important embassies.

De Mornay hoped that the protestant cause might gain by this appointment. He knew that Du Ferrier, now an old man, had of late given himself up to the study of the word of God, in preference to all other books; he knew also, that his friend had thereby been convinced that the Romish church had departed from the truth; and he trusted that now, being settled in a protestant province and court, he might be induced to separate from that church by a public recantation. Du Ferrier and he had met a short time before, at Artenay; the former being on his return from an embassy from the French king to Venice. The old ambassador spoke with gratitude of the mercies with which God had encompassed him, now for more than seventy-five years. De Mornay took that opportunity of urging him to give glory to God by a public recognition of the truth. "Is it not time for you, my friend, to think of your conscience, and to remember those good intentions which you formed at Venice, and the resolutions which you so often expressed to me, in conversation and by letter, that you would make an open profession of the truth, so long believed, so long concealed?" Du Ferrier, at that time, promised that he would declare himself a protestant without much further delay; and soon after, De Mornay wrote to him the following letter:

Since I saw you at Artenay, I have daily thought of you, and, through you, of the advancement of the glory of God and the salvation of men. You know the conversations that we have had together. By satisfying your conscience you may confer a great benefit on the world. I know that, in the places where you have been, you have found the world anxious to

dissuade you from this course, for the world is an enemy to you and to its own welfare. But it is time to conquer it, and, at this moment, the victory is not very difficult to gain. When it is despised it is conquered. Without at all doubting your constancy and magnanimity, I venture to recall your thoughts to what I said at that time. In years past God required of us martyrdom; He is now satisfied with our confession: if we decline that, you know the penalty: He will disown us, and thus disappoint us of a far better heritage than that which we lose. Besides this, considering all things, this is a purchase which may be made without fear; we may enter into possession to-day without any risk or loss. Allow me to add, that the rare and singular gifts which God has bestowed upon you, require of you a very distinct confession. You have a high reputation in several countries, and, therefore, the knowledge which he has given you ought to extend its light to them all. You have also acquired much influence with the king by many great and remarkable services, and therefore, it is equally important that your knowledge should be communicated to him. My advice, sir, would be, (and you will not receive it as merely my counsel, but will conscientiously examine it,) that, as soon as possible, you should retire to some safe place, where there is an eminent reformed church, as there is at Sedan, or in these parts if you prefer them: that there, having conferred with the ministers, you should desire to be allowed to make a confession of your faith before the whole church; which should be the fruit of mature reflection, and should comprise the fundamental principles of our salvation, and briefly overturn the superstition from which you depart. I further advise that this confession should be printed, then sent to the king, with a preface containing the reasons for this conversion; and that it should be translated afterwards into Latin, Italian, &c., to be dispersed through all the nations where your name is known. From this proceeding I expect so much fruit, that I could almost venture to adjure you to adopt it. And you know, sir, that from Him who has given us our body and soul, our tongue and heart, our powers and affections, in short all that we have and are, we cannot withhold any thing through dissimulation or coldness, or any other human consideration, without being guilty of manifest sacrilege. Consider, sir, how long you have concealed this talent;



let the arrears be paid by one effort. God has waited for you in his mercy; of this I have been a witness now fifteen years: during all this time He knocks at your gate, He cries in your ear. Let us beware, sir, of abusing his patience and long-suffering, like many who, even in their youth, have been surprised and overtaken while temporizing. I say, perhaps, too much for your constancy, but not too much for human infirmity and the temptations of the world which surround us. Attribute this to the affection which I bear you, and to my desire of seeing you truly honoured of God in honouring Him. I am here with the king of Navarre; if I can be of any service to you, command me as your son. He holds you in good and high esteem, and so you will find whenever an opportunity presents itself. Sir, I pray God to counsel and comfort you by his Spirit, to his glory, to your own salvation and peace, and to the instruction of his people. Amen.

De Mornay's anxiety for his friend's spiritual welfare is further shown by the following letter to another friend, Francis Perrot, lord of Mezières.

SIR,—On my way into Gascony to attend the king of Navarre, I had the good fortune to meet M. du Ferrier, our common friend, at the inn at Artenay, near Orléans. I found him full of a good and holy purpose, but, in my opinion, he has need of being strengthened, on account of the infirmity of the flesh, and the allurements and snares of the world; the more so because he is going to the court, where many people will endeavour to turn him from his intentions. Be assured that I have not omitted any thing that I ought and was able to do, and, as I believe, my efforts were not in vain; for it appeared to me that God had conducted him into my road. But it is necessary that you should complete the work which yourself began; and, for this purpose, I am of opinion that you should visit him in Paris, to withdraw him entirely from thence, and to transplant him into a better soil. I perceived that he was ready to have requested this favour of you forthwith, if he had not feared being troublesome. I leave you to consider what benefits may accrue to the ignorant and to temporizers, from the public profession of so important a person. But I should much desire that, as God has bestowed upon him remarkable graces, there should also be something remarkable in his pro-

fession; for you know, that to whomsoever He giveth much, of him He requires the more; and that he (Du Ferrier) ought to make some amends for the lateness of his decision, by the manner in which he chooses to declare himself, which, as I have told him, might be such, that he, who only came into the vineyard in the evening, might labour more successfully than those who have worked in it from the morning, and borne all the heat of the day. Our predecessors in this field, have not escaped so easily as we have; they were burned, drowned, massacred; but now martyrdom is changed into confession,—the martyr into the confessor; God having been satisfied with the past persecutions, and giving us peace, in which we can freely and securely make profession of that which He has given us to believe. My wish would be, that M. du Ferrier should retire to some well-known and free church, such as that at Sedan, unless he prefers to give this honour to the country of his birth. That there, having conferred with the ministers, he should publicly, and before a full congregation, make a well-considered confession of his faith, comprising the grounds of our salvation, and briefly relating the reasons which had induced him to withdraw from the Romish church. That, at the end, he should enjoin the consciences of those who conceal the knowledge which God has granted them, to render to God the honour which belongs to Him. And that, after this speech has been pronounced, it should be printed in Latin, French, Italian, &c., and distributed everywhere, even to the king, as a means of accounting for this change of life. In this way, I should hope that his confession and profession would not be less fruitful than the martyrdom of his late colleague, M. du Bourg. I think that he owes this to God and his church; and if you are of this opinion, I beg you to lend your assistance; and if you inform me what service I can render, I will do it with all my heart. Sir, you will please to make use of this my advice according to your own prudence and discretion. I honour M. du Ferrier, and I consider that if he thus honours God, he will be truly honoured by God and man. I pray God to assist him with heavenly grace, and to grant you a long and happy life.

Du Ferrier, soon after his appointment to be chancellor to the king of Navarre, forsook the church of Rome.

But he had lived too long in courts, and in the fear of the world, to expose himself so directly to censure and reproach, as he would have done by a public recantation. His change of religion, however, was soon rumoured abroad; and Montagne remarked to De Mornay, "You have gained a victory over us, by the acquisition of a man in whom you honour virtues which we have not duly valued."

Three other letters, written about the same period, will be valued for the sentiments they express. The first (addressed to M. de Pibrac) relates to the importance of religion, the vanity of the world, and the offices of christian friendship.

*December 23, 1582.*

SIR,—I have come into this country at the command of the king of Navarre, and expected to have had the pleasure of finding you here still. Being disappointed in this, I have made particular inquiries respecting you from one of your friends, and have conversed with him about you and your chief concerns. He told me that, for some time, you have taken great pleasure in the Holy Scriptures, and particularly in meditating on the Psalms. I am rejoiced to hear it, and praise God for it. All things considered, this ought to be the aim of our studies, since it points out to us the haven of our life. It is time, sir, henceforward, to think of departing from this world; and *he* quits it most cheerfully who has already quitted it here,—in other words, who has banished it from his heart. Formerly it was more deceptive than it is; it would occasionally smile upon virtue, and disguise itself in order to beguile. But now, what do we see in the world to attract virtue into its toils? and how much less that ought to beguile its affections or even its eyes? On the contrary, who does not look with an evil eye upon virtue, and who does not asperse it? Now this veil being removed, I have only to assure you, sir, that your eyes are sufficiently clear-sighted to judge of all the rest. Excuse me if the friendship I bear you has got the better of my respect, by forcing from me these words. Men are [not merely bodies but] souls, and the friendships of men are friendships of souls. He whose friendship does not extend so far as this, does not half love,—loves

not at all . . . . . Sir, I am your servant, and I honour you deeply. I beg you to love me, and to permit me to love you completely, and entreat the Creator to grant you a long and happy life.

The next letter was addressed to his maternal uncle, Philip du Bec, then bishop of Nantes. He therein deprecates unkind feelings on account of religion, and vindicates his adherence to the reformed faith for conscience sake, and to his temporal disadvantage. It is dated January 8, 1583.

SIR,—Since God has conducted me back into France, I have heard, to my great sorrow, that you bear me some ill will, and, on my account, to all our family. This has induced me to review my life, and to look well around me for that which may have occasioned to you so much displeasure; and I can almost venture to assert that, for more than ten years, which God has given me grace to live in the light of men, I have done nothing unworthy of those to whom I have the honour to be related, and perhaps I have done somewhat to give them satisfaction and pleasure. My religion alone, of which I have made constant profession, may have alienated your heart from me; but in truth, when you have duly reflected on the subject, that ought to redouble the friendship which you formerly bestowed upon me. For I have so high an opinion of your virtue and magnanimity, that I believe you would regret to have a nephew who would violate his conscience; and that you would not by any means require of him that, in order to please you, he should displease God. Now I desire, sir, no other judge than yourself, to decide whether conscience or passion, whether divine or human considerations, move me. I am a man, and subject to human affections; and you need not doubt that I desire much the comforts of this present world, its goods, dignities, and splendour. Nor have I so little understanding, as not to know that these things are only distributed in the train of the world, and that I am following a path which leads far away from their acquisition,—and adhering to a party which has nothing to distribute save miseries and indignities; and you will do me the honour to confess, that it is not that I am in any way shut out from the other; and that, thank God, the gate of the world, which at

all times has been sufficiently wide, must have been very narrow, considering my rank and education, if I could not have found the means of entering it; and this I say, how full soever it may have been.

Do not suppose, sir, that losses, exiles, prisons, and the dangers to which my life has often been exposed, have not frequently and earnestly preached to me and supported the Romish religion; and addressed me with urgent and acute arguments, which were hard to answer, and such as, by a certain kind of self-deception, a man is wont to allow to prevail with him, to which he surrenders willingly, and which he cannot resist without doing violence to his feelings. When I have followed my religion in spite of all these considerations, judge whether it is reason or prejudice which governs me! And here think of the lawyer's maxim, *Cui bono?* [What advantage can be gained by it?] Truly I believe that you will acknowledge reason for my guide, since prejudice would have been better satisfied in another quarter; and allow me to say, that it was reason truly divine, and not in any wise human, which has caused me to conquer, in myself, both the prejudices which get the better of human reason, and the human reason which often binds itself in chains to deliver itself captive either to avarice or to ambition. You will say (for others do so), that I might continue in my religion, like many others, but your anger is provoked by what I have written and published about it; and truly I might have escaped this trouble and hatred. But here consider again, sir, whether I ought not to account the love of God more important than all this, and with what conscience I could be silent? and whether he who believes is not bound to speak, and whether he who professes knowledge is not bound to write, where the subjects are such as, in his estimation, concern the glory of God and the salvation of his neighbour? And how, think you, could I be discharged and rescued from outer darkness, when I came to stand before Him who requires his talent again, and the money which ought to have been laid out for Him? He, sir, who has given us faith, has also given us our mouth and pen; and he who has bestowed upon us gifts not common to all, has not bestowed them for our own sakes but for others. Without robbery, without sacrilege, I could not withhold the smallest portion. Thus,

the same conscience which compelled me to make a private confession, compelled me also to make this public profession. And God be praised for having blessed it to the benefit of many individuals and even nations. Now, sir, assuming that such were the dictates of my conscience, and reminding you what that monitor requires of every person, I have so high an opinion of yours, that I think you would have advised no other course than that which I have pursued; and still I cannot persuade myself that, when you shall have duly reflected on the subject, you will be inclined to refuse me the friendship which you have been pleased to bear towards me before. As for myself, even if I should have the misfortune to see you acting otherwise, I shall pay you respect, obedience, and service, all my life long; considering myself bound to do so, not merely as a duty to you, but to God himself, who gives me such a command. And now, sir, after having humbly presented my compliments to you, I shall implore the Creator to give you a long and happy life.

The third letter might, perhaps, be more properly termed a memorandum of advice to the king, relative to the irregularities of his life. It was submitted to Henry on the 9th of January, 1583, and contained the following passages:—

. . . . . It is by the grace of God that kings reign, and by the force of the laws that crowns are made secure. His majesty, therefore, must apply himself to piety and justice; but above all, since his person is observed by so many, his virtues must not be concealed; but it is necessary that people should see them, and that in full proportion to the influence which God has given him, he should be a pattern and a model.

A prince's rule of life is a strong criterion of the rule of the state; such, indeed, that whatever order may be observed in a household or commonwealth through the care of the servants, it cannot conceal the disorder of the prince's conduct, in as much as all have access to his chamber, few to his counsels; and all remark his own irregularities, while few take account of the regularity of his affairs. Hence, we desire that the king of Navarre should adopt some rule of life, without which no prince has ever been esteemed.

The day is long when it is well distributed, and affords sufficient time for serious employments, for exercise, and pleasure.

The king of Navarre might be dressed at eight o'clock, or a little later, and then send for his chaplain to offer up prayer. After this he might go into his cabinet, and assemble those to whom he intrusts his affairs, in the form of a council, to dispose of the business which presents itself, maturely and leisurely, and to sign the despatches which may have been resolved upon, himself making a point to read all that require his attention.

That he might not be troubled with trifling matters, his council should assemble at an earlier hour; should despatch the affairs of less importance, make a draught of those that are of consequence, and bring them up to him partly digested; should examine all the despatches in order to find out what is worthy of being submitted to him, so that in less than one short hour his majesty might accomplish the rest; and he who should do this every day, would, on some days, find scarcely anything to do.

The rest of the day, till dinner-time\*, the king might pass in such amusement or exercise as he may think fit, excepting on the days of religious service; and his dinner might be accompanied with useful conversation, in which the members of his council might join, because the rules of his hours would regulate those of his whole household.

The afternoon might be quite free, excepting that an hour before supper, or at any other convenient time, he might enter into his cabinet with his counsellors, to learn what is to be resolved upon, what may have been done respecting matters already determined, and to sign despatches: and if no business should present itself to their attention, the king might be pleased to converse with them. Many princes, for reputation's sake, do this, without having any affairs to settle, and thus gain esteem by appearing to have much to do.

Sometimes there would be no harm in his inspecting the management of his domestic affairs, as well for the purpose of

\* Mr. D'Israeli states, that the dinner-hour, at the court of Henry IV. of France, was eleven, or at noon at the latest.—*Curiosities of Literature*. 12mo., vol iii., p. 53.

countenancing those who conduct them, as of constraining each to do his duty.

If his majesty dines at ten or eleven o'clock, he might sup at six or seven, and retire at nine, or at the latest at ten. All the interval after supper might be free from public business, and the ministers might attend in his chamber for prayer at nine o'clock.

Thus the king of Navarre might do everything without fatigue and with ample leisure, and his servants would have each hour so appropriated, that he might know what they were doing, and how they performed their duty; and their labour would be nothing but pleasure.

He then touched upon the importance of the king's observing great correctness in his manner of life; and concluded thus:—

The regulation of his household would easily follow that of himself, for each would wish to conform himself to that, even in trifles. But if he is inclined to teach his own people and strangers that vice is displeasing to him, and does not reign in his own soul, he must take care not to harbour it in his dwelling, put far away from him all persons of evil reputation, and draw around him the virtuous, and persons of good report; repressing all tumults and violence as much as possible, by means of his own household, and diffusing all the comfort he is able amongst those whom God has placed in the world under his dominion. The officers who rob his finances deserve chastisement,—how much more they who rob both his people and his honour at the same time? And how shall not any person who sees the king's subjects oppressed by the royal household expect the same treatment under his government?

The king of Navarre, therefore, ought in his own person to be an example to his house, his house a model of good government, and an earnest to all Christendom of a just and legitimate administration. Meanwhile, God will bless him without doubt, and show him how important to princes is His favour and blessing.

In May, 1583, the high estimation in which De Mornay was held by the protestant church was declared in a



striking manner by the national synod assembled at Vitré. Being deputed by Henry to attend that convocation, the whole meeting hailed his arrival with every demonstration of respect, and assured him, that had he been only casually passing through the town, they would have sent a deputation to request his presence and advice. Whilst attending this synod, De Mornay proposed some plans for the further advancement of the kingdom of God throughout the world; and communicated Henry's intention of endeavouring to negotiate a confederacy, for mutual protection, with all protestant states.

In the following November, having been sent to the court of France by his royal master, to demand some reparation for an insult offered to Margaret of Valois, queen of Navarre, he had many opportunities of conversing with the French king on the state of religion in his dominions, and the treatment of the protestants. In one of these conferences, after defending the Huguenots against the charge of rebellion, and stating that it was persecution which had impelled them to take up arms in self-defence; he added,—“As for myself, sire, I will not conceal from your majesty that I have endeavoured in vain, now these twelve years, to become a catholic. I have often reflected that next to the favour of God, there is nothing in the world so precious as the favour of one's prince;—I have selfishness enough to desire the riches and honours of the world, and wisdom enough to know that my religion is not the path which leads to their attainment. Nor am I ignorant that my services would be more agreeable to your majesty if I were a catholic, at least if I may presume to suppose that I have ability to benefit you. On that account, it has been my care to read every book that I could procure, and to converse with learned men wherever I have met them, and I have always found that my carnal mind has pleaded in favour of their arguments, and urged me to surrender. But, sire, I must tell you that conscience has finally prevailed, although it well knew that the price of victory would be

no less than disgrace, losses, and dangers, such as I have undergone."

The king answered that he must have arrived at such a conclusion in consequence of having approached the discussion with prejudice:—"Sire, you are right," he replied, "but it was a prejudice opposed to my present religion,—it was a desire for worldly advancement, which had the greater force because I was young; and yet, notwithstanding, a lively conviction of truth prevailed with me, and the world has given way to conscience."

He was not less plain and conscientious in dealing with the king of Navarre, his master. In the spring, he wrote him a letter, which another of his counsellors sanctioned by his signature, relative to the important position in which he was likely to be placed by the approaching death of the duke of Anjou, the only prince that stood between Henry and the throne of France. It betokens that faithful and honest boldness, that virtuous and fearless candour, which constituted a peculiar ornament of his character. After describing some of the symptoms of the royal duke's malady, he thus proceeds;—"Your majesty ought now to call to mind what is the common conversation of all France, and even of a great part of Christendom. You ought to consider that the eyes of all are upon you, and see you so much the more plainly, because you are elevated in rank and situation. This is a reason why you should so order your life and conduct, that if possible they should find nothing to reprove, but that each may discern what most suits his inclination. I mean, sire, that the king expects courtesy towards him; the princes, brotherly kindness; the parliament, a love of justice; the nobility, greatness of mind; the people, anxiety for their relief; the clergy, moderation; your enemies, clemency; and the whole people, affability, and a kind disposition, far removed from treachery, deception, animosity, and revenge. These are virtues which in truth are not acquired, but natural to you. But above all, sire, it is important that you should embrace in earnest the

fear of God, who seems to be calling you to such great things, by whom alone princes reign, and the people learn obedience, who knows how to smooth the way of those who fear Him, how mountainous soever it may appear, and on the contrary renders it difficult to those who do not love His name, when they imagine that they have smoothed it for themselves.

“Henceforth, sire, let it be your purpose to be the resort of all foreign nations, and especially the refuge of afflicted people or princes. Let there be seen in your house a certain magnificence, in your counsels dignity, in your deportment gravity, in your important acts firmness, even in your lesser ones consistency. By these external things, people often judge of the inner man; and by the form of the body, the disposition of the mind. And by such actions, a reputation amongst men is more readily procured than by those which are more substantial, because the former are exposed to the view of all men, while they cannot appreciate the latter.”

De Mornay proceeded to state that not only virtue but the appearance of virtue was necessary, and plainly warned the king of the ill consequences which must necessarily result from his continued indulgence in sensual pleasures.

The king, although he shrunk a little from the knife which touched him in the tenderest part, was not offended at being thus freely dealt with. After the duke's death, De Mornay, being honoured with a private interview with his royal master, thus addressed him:—“It is evident, sire, that God is preparing to do great things for you and by you. The world will make you splendid offers, but, oh! remember that it is by God that kings reign. A king must not change with circumstances, but rather must work changes in others. If your majesty is willing to attend to good counsel, it will be easy to show you, when the fit time arrives, how the glory of Constantine may revive in you, by your reforming the church in this kingdom with the full consent of your people; and

even from this hour you may be put in the way to carry this important end. Only trust in God, who promotes his own work."

This and other advice De Mornay gave with the zeal and affection of a faithful friend and counsellor. But he had too much reason to fear that his words were addressed to ears which were closed against the remonstrances of a spiritual monitor.

This memoir contains abundant evidence that De Mornay was regarded by the French protestants with deep reverence, attachment, and confidence. But a singular anecdote remains on record, to prove that the feelings with which he was regarded could not exempt his family from the severity of Huguenot discipline.

It is related that the protestant deputies assembled at Montauban, excluded Madame De Mornay and her daughters from the Lord's table, because they refused to wear their hair short. In vain was it pleaded that their style of dress was strictly conformable with modesty,—that it had been worn by them for fifteen years at Sedan, and Geneva, in England, the Netherlands, and many of the chief towns in France, without provoking the indignation of their fellow-christians; and that the opinion of Calvin upon St. Paul's instruction to Timothy, was that the apostle enjoined the reformation of morals, rather than any trifling peculiarities of apparel. Even a solemn confession of faith, in which she assented to the creed of the Huguenot church, article by article, could avail nothing in behalf of the offending hair; the pastor of Montauban was fixed in his determination, and the ladies were at last compelled to have recourse to another church a few leagues distant, in which the minister wisely considered the matter indifferent, and admitted them to the communion\*. This incident will appear still more characteristic, when it is considered that De Mornay was one of two deputies sent by that very assembly to lay their grievances before the king of France, and that he and his colleague obtained a

\* Smedley, ii. 191, 2.

more favourable answer than could have been reasonably expected.

In 1585, warlike steps were taken by that famous *League*, which was formed by the house of Guise against the king of France, under pretence of maintaining the popish religion; which also proclaimed its opposition to the king of Navarre and his protestant adherents. The pen of De Mornay, as well as his sword, were promptly prepared for the service of his master and persecuted brethren. His noble *Declaration of the King of Navarre against the Calumnies of the League*, exposed, in the striking colours of truth, the unjust and wicked conduct pursued towards the protestants; it also justified the measures they had adopted, and proposed the chivalrous scheme of averting the calamities of civil war by a combat between the king of Navarre and the duke of Guise, each being attended by a fixed number of followers.

This document was submitted to the approval of Henry, and then published in his name; but De Mornay had not drawn up the challenge before he had received a promise from the king, that in case of its acceptance, he should be one of the combatants. The duke of Guise, however, had no inclination to risk the success of his cause on so uncertain an adventure, and De Mornay prepared for general warfare, thanking God that the battle was to be fought while his royal master was yet in mature age, and anticipating as its consequence that peace and prosperity would be the lot of the next generation.

During the wars which ensued he rendered good service to the protestant cause by his wisdom and valour. Being severely wounded in the great battle of Coutras, in 1587, he was obliged to withdraw for a while from the field; upon which the king committed into his hands the most important affairs of the state, the administration of its finances, and the management of all despatches; and Henry confessed that he had never before been so much at ease as during that interval, and that, beset as he was by troubles, he had, in truth, never been so little troubled.

It was during the continuance of these hostilities, that tidings were communicated to the king, in the hearing of De Mornay, of two sisters having been burned in Paris for their profession of the reformed religion. Melancholy as was this intelligence, the quick perception of De Mornay caught at it as an evidence of sincere and zealous attachment to the truth, and he immediately exclaimed, "Take courage, sire, for even our young daughters have firmness enough to die for the gospel!"

His high esteem for our distinguished countryman, sir Philip Sidney, called forth the following letter to Walsingham on the occasion of his death. It was dated in January, 1587.

SIR,—I have received the mournful intelligence of the death of M. de Sidney. In these unhappy times, I have undergone many trials and troubles, but nothing has so much depressed and wounded my heart, nothing has touched me in so tender a place, either in private or public life. I feel his loss both on your account and my own. I mourn and lament for him, not merely for England's sake, but for Christendom's. God was unwilling to spare him to us, sir; and that, perhaps, because he deserved to live in a better age. But surely to no age could he have been more valuable, if it had been the will of God to amend it. This is what makes me despair of better times, when I see the good departing, and the refuse remaining amongst us. And indeed, this is too heavy an affliction, that we should have lost two in one year, I mean the late count de Laval, and M. de Sidney, whose characters had most resemblance, and who were equally dear to their friends and to the public. I feel tempted, henceforth, either to bestow no love upon any one, or to hate myself. However, I have finally resolved to continue my love to these departed friends, and to honour all that appertains to them, and thus, in particular, to redouble my affection, honour, and service, towards you. Do me then the honour, sir, to regard me more and more; and let us conclude with these words, *The will of God be done.*

In the spring of the year 1589, after the assassination of the duke of Guise, an alliance was formed between Henry of Navarre and the king of France, by which

they agreed to unite their forces against the leaguers, who were now commanded by the duke of Mayenne. By the provisions of this treaty, the town of Saumur was ceded to the king of Navarre, in order to secure his passage over the Loire, and he immediately conferred upon De Mornay the post of governor of that fortress\*. He now sent for his family, which having experienced no small share of the troubles incidental to civil war†, was now grateful for the privilege of enjoying once more the comforts of a settled home.

In the following month of August he was induced by the call of public duty, and the hope of hastening his recovery from a severe illness, to take a journey to Tours. Just after his arrival at Maillé, two messages overtook him from different quarters; the one requiring his immediate return, the other directing him to remain in the place where the letter might reach him. Uncertain how to act, he questioned the messengers as to what had happened, and one of them was able to inform him that one of the two kings had been assassinated. This intelligence agitated him exceedingly, for he could not discover

\* It is manifest from Sully's *Memoirs*, that he was jealous of this appointment, having desired to obtain it for himself. On some other occasions also, he exhibits an unfriendly feeling towards De Mornay. A full examination of their characters, however, would redound to the greater honour of De Mornay, who invariably took religion and the highest principle for his guide, while Sully too often followed the shifting maxims of expediency and worldly policy.

† Besides his own domestic troubles, he had to deplore the calamities of various branches of his family. His brother and his mother were driven from their home, of which a leaguer had taken forcible possession. And his wife's mother and brother were plundered of their property, and shamefully treated. We join Mr. Smedley, in highly commending the tone in which De Mornay, amidst these provocations, speaks of the murder of the duke of Guise. His letters express great thankfulness that the protestants should be free from all participation in the crime, and state his opinion that beneficial as the consequences would be to the church, the event must be acknowledged "rather in humiliation than rejoicing."

whether or no his royal master was the victim. But presently a confidential servant of the king of Navarre came up with letters, which informed him that the throne of France was vacant, and desired him to use his utmost zeal and diligence throughout the provinces, to secure the succession of the king of Navarre, now Henry the fourth.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

##### BATTLE OF YVRY.—HENRY IV.'S PROFESSION OF POPERY.— CONSEQUENCES TO DE MORNAY.

For thou wouldst have us linger still,  
Upon the verge of good or ill,  
That on thy guiding hand, unseen,  
Our undivided hearts may lean;  
And this, our frail and foundering bark,  
Glide in the narrow wake of thy beloved ark.

*Christian Year.*

THE accession of Henry the fourth to the throne of France realized an object which had been near to De Mornay's heart, as being likely to promote the peace and happiness of his native land. He lost no time in writing to the king, to remind him that he had attained his present elevated station under very peculiar circumstances; that instead of the crown being placed upon his head by the ordinary course of events, it seemed rather to have dropped casually upon him: adding, that he could not enter upon a more profitable study than that of his own past life, which was so distinguished by tokens of a gracious providence, that he might rest assured of the continuance of the Divine blessing, if he would reign as a servant of God.

De Mornay, with his wonted activity and zeal, immediately took measures for strengthening the hands of the king. Although suffering from indisposition, he gained



possession of the person of the old cardinal Bourbon, whom the leaguers had set up as a rival candidate for the throne of France. The promptitude with which he accomplished this important object, called forth the admiration of the king;—"This is indeed service!" he exclaimed, "Du Plessis always makes things sure!"

As he lay on his bed of sickness he dictated many letters calculated to promote the security of Henry's throne. He advised the king to show no partialities on the score of religion, to use no offensive terms in public documents, to press the importance of peaceableness and moderation upon the governors of provincial towns, to endeavour to gain the Roman catholics without losing the Huguenots, and to send a private intimation to the pope that violent measures on the part of that pontiff would certainly defeat their own ends. After his recovery, his strenuous efforts were directed to the promotion of peace, charity, and good order, as well as toleration, in every quarter to which his influence extended.

In 1590, he took the field with the king against the leaguers, and wrote to his wife to request that prayers for the success of their arms might be publicly offered up. "God, and nature, and right, are on our side," he said, "human means do not fail us; if our enemies meet us we are confident of victory, and then our prayers will be converted into thanksgivings."

This letter was written only a few days before the famous battle of Yvry, in which De Mornay highly distinguished himself; and, as no account of his military exploits has hitherto been introduced into this memoir, a description of his conduct on that occasion may be acceptable to the reader.

On the evening before the battle, the king appointed him a place in the left wing. The army being set in array, De Mornay conducted a minister of the gospel to the front of the ranks, where, according to the custom of the Huguenots, he offered up a prayer for the blessing of God. De Mornay then addressed a few words to his

soldiers. Pointing to the enemy, he exclaimed, "Behold, comrades, the path to our homes, our liberties, and our country: we must conquer or die!" Instantly, having sustained five rounds of cannon-shot, they rushed to the charge. De Mornay darted into the thickest of the combat, and his horse was killed under him. Although he was heavily armed, and had fallen on a spot which was slippery with half-melted ice, he yet quickly recovered his legs, and was provided with a fresh horse by one of his brave fellows who ran to his assistance. Being now mounted again, and looking round the field, he augured victory from the determined bravery of the forces around the king, and resolved to make a vigorous effort to share the glory of that portion of the army. Accordingly, he led on his men and came up to the king, who was stationed at that moment between three pear-trees, which he had marked as a rallying-point before the action. De Mornay hailed him as already the conqueror, entered once more into the battle, and fought near his sovereign to the end of the action, his cornet having the honour, at one moment, to be the only one to conduct the army. When the battle was over, the king acknowledged the services of De Mornay's troop, and declared that it had sustained the most strenuous assault of the enemy\*.

Soon after, De Mornay was made a counsellor of state;

\* The infidel philosopher, Voltaire, who, in several passages, quoted in other parts of this memoir, speaks in commendation of De Mornay, pays the following tribute to his valour and humanity in the battle of Yvry.

Mornay [who] bore the hero's high command,  
 Rapid as air, to wav'ring legions brought  
 The sure decisions of superior thought,  
 Which fix at once the fortune of the field,  
 And like one man unnumber'd legions wield.  
 Averse to war, to stoic virtue true,  
 To save his king alone his sword he drew;  
 The blood of man the spotless weapon spared,  
 Nor gave the death his tranquil courage dared.

*Translation of the Henriade, 4to., London, 1797.*

and this was the first dignity conferred by his majesty upon any protestant since his accession.

On a subsequent occasion, when the royal arms had experienced some reverse, the king sent for De Mornay, wishing to confer with him in private. When De Mornay arrived, Henry was in his night-dress, being about to retire to rest. He commenced the conversation by observing, "You see what disorder we are in; God seems to be forsaking me." "Nay, sire," was the reply, "let us rather consider whether we have not forsaken God! How small has been our care for his service! What a life have we led during this siege,—no other than truly scandalous and full of licentious excesses!" The king appeared to be much moved by these earnest remarks; he desired De Mornay to reach his book of Psalms, in which he read the ninety-first, and then, after a little more serious conversation, desired the devout soldier to offer up a prayer.

Such conferences between the king and De Mornay excited the jealousy and anger of some of the Roman catholic nobles. But conscious of his integrity, he took an opportunity of declaring to some of the objectors, that his advice was always of such a nature, that he could venture to give it with equal candour in their hearing. "I propose to the king," he said, "to serve God in good conscience; to have Him before his eyes in all his actions; to appease the schism which exists in his kingdom by a holy reformation of the church, and, in this respect, to be an example to all Christendom,—to all posterity. Are these matters which need to be communicated secretly?" He then proceeded to vindicate a profession of the reformed faith:—"The most learned men of every nation are roused; many princes and states have listened to them and believed; and the opponents of a purer faith have met with thousands who could submit to be burned in the cause. Ought not this to make you think the question worthy of discussion,—worthy of examination? And would it not be more becoming in you, gentlemen,

to recommend the king to hold a council,—a measure which in former times has proved the only remedy for heresy, and which is the only measure likely to remove this schism.”

Most of those whom he addressed were satisfied with his defence. The mareschal d'Aumont, a zealous papist, who had been more exasperated against De Mornay than any of the rest, now cordially embraced him; and he who had once said that De Mornay ought to be shot, now changed his tone, and declared that he was worthy of being honoured with a statue.

About the same time, the duke of Florence sent to offer him a handsome annuity, if he would induce the king to change his religion. He indignantly returned an answer that his master's conscience was not to be bought any more than his own.

De Mornay now resolved to retire from the court, seeing that he was an object of so much suspicion and enmity; and accordingly took his leave, submitting a brief memorial to his majesty's private perusal, in which he exhorted him to study to promote the glory of God in the government of his kingdom; pointed out the justice of granting toleration to the protestants, and removing those grievances which most severely pressed upon them; and once more assured him, that nothing could more completely secure to his majesty the reverence and affection of all his subjects, than a life spent in the fear of God.

Returning to Saumur, he found his wife employed in building a church for the public use of the reformed worship. She had purchased the land, and was carrying on the work by their private resources; and her husband contemplated with pleasure the temple which she was rearing to the living God. He also, about the same time, obtained a charter for the foundation of an university at Saumur, which was afterwards established, with the consent of all the protestant churches in the kingdom, as declared in one of their national synods. The expenses which he incurred in these works were the more liberal,

in as much as his fortune was then much embarrassed by having advanced considerable sums for the service of the king.

In March, 1591, he forwarded to Henry an earnest remonstrance against the continuance of a persecuting enactment which had been passed thirty years before, called the edict of July. His lively appeal demonstrates that the Huguenots had reason to complain of the severity of the laws under which they lived. Having referred to the long trial of their patience, and the king's own knowledge of their attachment to him, and having stated it to be a sovereign's duty, instead of quenching religion, to kindle and augment it, he thus showed that an opposite course had been pursued towards the protestants:—"Births, and marriages, and deaths, are daily occurring; and are our infants to die without baptism?—our marriages to be contracted without solemnities, so as to become matters of dispute?—and our dead to be left without the rites of interment? And daily, for want of a legalized performance of these offices, there arise scandals, law-suits, and cruelties. To pray God for the prosperity of the king, even when none but the members of a family are assembled, to sing a psalm in a man's own shop, to sell a French Testament or Bible,—each of these acts is reputed a crime by the judges; and for these there are daily prosecutions. They allege that it is their duty to give effect to the laws; and thus they make it an equal offence to pray to God in a peaceable manner for the king in a private apartment, and seditiously to preach from a pulpit against his person and interests. These evils loudly demand a remedy."

In the following June he was thrown into much affliction by the death of his excellent mother, to whose early instructions he owed, in a great measure, his rescue from popery. It was a consolation to him to know that even to her last breath, her faith was strong in a crucified Saviour, and in Him alone, and that she died with calmness and fortitude.

In the winter he was sent on a special embassy to the English court. Anxious to expel the leaguers from the parts of France which were opposite to the shores of England, Elizabeth had already sent over 4,000 men to Henry's assistance, under the conduct of the earl of Essex. These forces, however, had been reduced by fatigue and sickness to the small number of 600, and the king felt that a fresh reinforcement was necessary to the success of his arms. But the most lively apprehension for the safety of her favourite Essex had taken possession of Elizabeth's mind, and she firmly resolved to grant no supplies until he should have returned to England. In vain did Henry send several ambassadors to plead for succours; her heart was fixed on the recall of Essex: she sent to demand his instant obedience, under penalty of forfeiting his trusts and honours; and threatened that her next step should be the withdrawal of the residue of her soldiers from France. De Mornay, knowing her temper and disposition, had pressed the earl to comply with her commands; but he boldly answered that he would not mar his honour by quitting the army at such a crisis. De Mornay, therefore, set out on his journey, arrived in England, and had an audience of the queen, who spoke with much severity both of the king and of Essex; and, in subsequent interviews, showed herself deaf to all arguments and entreaties. But, knowing the secret motives which influenced her, he wrote most urgent letters to Essex, assuring him that upon his return depended the success of this mission; and the gallant soldier being thus induced to comply, Elizabeth's heart once more expanded towards the cause which her judgment approved, and she granted the necessary supplies.

During this visit to England, De Mornay conferred with some of the bishops respecting the puritans, particularly with Dr. Richard Fletcher, bishop of Bristol, and grand almoner to the queen, "whom I honour much," he says, "and to whom I feel myself greatly indebted." In conversation, they discussed the merits of a plan of pacifi-

cation, and afterwards corresponded on the same subject. De Mornay represented that the non-conformists ought to be dealt with in a mild and tolerant spirit, and asked with what conscience they could molest those who agreed in the same faith, merely on account of certain ceremonies; adding his opinion that whether they were actuated by infirmity or moroseness, they ought to be treated with christian charity.

The professed conversion of Henry the fourth to popery, inflicted a deep wound in the heart of his faithful and pious counsellor. De Mornay had hoped that when the king came to the throne of France, he might be induced to correct the irregularities of his life, and to adopt a variety of prudent and moderate measures, calculated rather to advance than retard the progress of the Reformation. He had himself suggested that the king should attend a conference upon the popish question, in the hope that at least his judgment might be enlisted on the protestant side; and he advised that those should be promoted to important stations in the Romish church, as well as in the state, who were devout and conscientious men, and inclined towards the correction of abuses. But Henry's religion was only a garment adopted by policy; and since the Roman catholics were by far the most numerous and powerful body, and it was important to conciliate the favour of the pope, policy dictated the adoption of their faith.

It was only about a week before the king's intentions were publicly known, that he received a letter from De Mornay concerning the troubles which then militated against the security of the throne. This honest adviser spoke of the importance of the blessing of God, of a thorough forsaking of sin, and a complete submission to the Divine will. "Thus fortified," he proceeded, "doubt not that means of maintaining your cause will be supplied, since they are inexhaustible in God, whom you will have on your side; nor yet that a number of devoted servants will assist you in any storm or commotion that may arise.

Above all, sire, you will have none but men to contend with, for you will have made your peace with God, who alone can give you peace with man. May it please your majesty to receive this letter as proceeding from the very bottom of my heart, which also implores the Creator to comfort and counsel you by his Spirit, to his own glory, and to your salvation."

When it was rumoured abroad that the king was about to hold a conference on the subject of religion, in order to give his professed conversion a colouring of sincerity, De Mornay wrote to the king, to assure him that he refused to believe that one who had received so many providential favours could deal so ungratefully with God. He added, that those who had so zealously borne arms in his cause against his enemies, were now arrayed as an army before God, in prayer on his behalf; and, "as for myself," he said, "I beseech the Almighty to give you supplies of his Spirit in proportion to the temptation which assails you, and to make you a conqueror to his glory, and to the edification of your people."

A few days after, he wrote letters to many of the protestant ministers on this distressing subject, in which he spoke under the influence of a lingering hope, that the king might be sincerely desirous of weighing well the arguments on both sides, and of adhering to that which should prove to be grounded in truth. "I think it our duty to assist him," he writes, "as physicians, according to the ability which God has given to us, while symptoms of life remain. For this purpose I have resolved to attend the assembly which his majesty has been pleased to summon, both for the general good of our country, and for the alleged purpose of giving satisfaction and security to the protestants, whose safety and repose he professes to desire as much as ever." He further stated, that he wished that all the protestants should approach the discussion well prepared to maintain their cause, that they should also consult together on the best means of securing the safety of their church, and that, as for himself, he was



resolved to support such measures as should appear likely to promote the glory of God, the good of the church, and the best interests of the king.

But he soon forsook this determination, when he saw that the conference was only intended to open the way for the king to make his recantation with a better grace. He therefore resolved to absent himself on the occasion, in pursuance of that course which he had laid down for himself in a letter to his friend, M. de Lomenie, the king's private secretary. "I will not, on any consideration, take part in an unfair contest, in which all one's efforts are unavailing, and there remains no alternative but to yield with dishonour. But if truth is the real object of contention, I will carry to the combat a front of brass; and I will prove to all, by the help of God, that those who fear God have nothing else to fear."

Henry, after his open profession of popery, addressed some most earnest and affectionate letters to De Mornay, inviting him to court. The latter hesitated to accept the invitation, but as the king expressed his anxiety to know what were the sentiments of the Huguenots with regard to his change of religion, he immediately wrote to him a plain and candid statement of their feelings and expectations.

He reminded the king of their unshrinking faithfulness and loyalty to his person,—of their patience in waiting for the removal of burdens from which they had reason to have expected relief long ago; adding, that these expectations had been the more confident, from a recollection of the zeal and earnestness with which he had pleaded their cause when another filled the throne. He stated their extreme disappointment at finding their necks still in bondage without prospect of liberation,—the rigorous edicts of preceding kings being still in force with unmitigated severity; and, at the same time, he referred to the reasonableness of their desires;—"All that they want is to be able to possess their consciences in peace, and their lives in safety, each in that condition and rank in which

God has placed him in your majesty's dominions; and this is not a privilege, but a right that is common to all men." He assured the king that the anticipations of his protestant subjects were of a most gloomy character. They argued thus, he said, "If the king has changed his religion by his own free choice, we cannot expect any proofs of affection; and if he has become a papist by constraint, our hopes of favour are still smaller, and we must rather look for calamities. since the power to injure us is, in that case, in other hands, and the power to benefit us is taken out of his."

The influence which now prevailed would induce the king, they feared, to adopt measures of still greater severity against the Huguenots, a consequence the more probable, because "the transition from good to evil requires an effort,—a leap must be made; but from one evil to another the road is easy." Having exposed the crafty and designing conduct of the papists, and referred to several ill omens which the protestants had observed since the king's conversion, he lastly hinted that they might be driven to the necessity of transferring the title of protector to another, if Henry should still countenance their oppression; and ended by beseeching him to anticipate their further supplications and remonstrances by a voluntary concession of their just claims.

The king, far from being offended by this plain dealing, was only the more anxious for a personal interview, which accordingly took place about two months after his abjuration. Henry was somewhat embarrassed when De Mornay first stood in his presence, and he attempted to make excuses for his adoption of popery; but it was observable that he did not mention conviction and a regard for truth as his motive, seeming rather to profess that he made this sacrifice for the general good of his subjects, and with the hope that he might acquire greater power of serving the Huguenots.

After this De Mornay seldom appeared at court; he retired to his government of Saumur, and gave his chief

attention to the interests of the Huguenots, who always esteemed him so highly as the wisest of their counsellors, and their most influential advocate, that he obtained the appellation of "the protestant pope." The king, however, frequently wrote to him in the most kind and condescending manner; and, in 1593, we meet with several letters from the royal hand, urging De Mornay with great impurity to attend the court, and assuring him of his unabated attachment.

In December, 1594, immediately after the attempt upon the king's life by the jesuit Chastel, Henry wrote to De Mornay a minute account of that assault. De Mornay forwarded a letter in reply, expressive of his sympathy and indignation at this wicked act, and containing these words of respectful admonition:

My fidelity may be permitted, sire, to say one word more. God intends to be heard when He speaks. He intends also that we should perceive when He smites us, specially when He smites the great, that none but Himself has power to chastise. I am, therefore, confident that your majesty will profit by this affliction, not by guarding against similar attempts, (for He will be your guardian,) but by feeling that his hand is laid upon sin, by not drawing down a heavier burden through abuse of his patience, and thus averting it by your turning to Him, and putting away from you every thing which now provokes his anger. I do not write, sire, in a spirit of censoriousness, I could not take such a liberty; but I speak with the zeal which befits a faithful servant. And all your subjects in this place implore the Creator, with the tears of sincerity, that He would be pleased to continue his favours to your majesty, and to grant you a long and peaceable reign.

In 1596, De Mornay published a defence of the reformed churches against the calumnies of their enemies, in which he recounted their past history at some length, and described their conduct and sufferings from the beginning of their troubles down to the period at which he wrote. Next year an outrage received by De Mornay, from the hand of a hot-tempered relative, named St. Phal,

was the occasion of a general demonstration of sympathy and regard for him, on the part of the king, and an extraordinary number of nobility and gentry, protestant as well as catholic, fellow-countrymen and foreigners. The affair, serious as it was, was magnified far beyond its due importance, and would be tedious to relate; but the process by which it was concluded is characteristic of times in which the spirit of chivalry was not yet extinct. St. Phal, having been sent to the Bastille, was brought forth in the presence of the king and a large assemblage of nobles, where, bending on one knee, he humbly besought his majesty to pardon his offence, and to permit him in the royal presence to make an apology to the person whom he had assaulted. Then rising from his knee, he addressed himself to De Mornay, related the circumstances of the occurrence in question, confessed that there was not sufficient provocation to justify his act of violence, declared himself ready to submit to a similar blow from De Mornay's hand, and requested him to intercede with the king for his pardon and the remission of all penalties. De Mornay then declared himself satisfied, and besought the king to forgive the offence; whereupon Henry pronounced the pardon of St. Phal, dismissing him with a severe reprimand for having assaulted a gentleman of high rank, who had borne marks of distinction from many battles, and had been honoured with the highest offices in his province.

In 1598, he had the gratification of receiving an ample recompense for his unwearied labours in behalf of the Huguenots, by the publication of the edict of Nantes, which conceded free toleration and liberty of conscience to all protestants throughout the kingdom, and rendered them eligible to high civil offices, from which they had been before excluded. The turbulence of which the Huguenots were accused at various subsequent periods, was occasioned by the evasion and violation of the provisions of this wise and healing measure.

## CHAPTER V.

HIS TREATISE ON THE EUCHARIST, AND THE CONSEQUENCES  
OF ITS PUBLICATION.

When fade all earthly flowers and bays,  
 When summer friends are gone and fled,  
 Is he alone, in that dark hour,  
 Who owns the Lord of love and power?  
*Christian Year.*

It was the anxious wish of De Mornay that truth should flourish in his native land, and his own hand was diligently employed in cultivating it and promoting its growth. His pen had already been exercised in defending the principles of the reformed faith, as well as in disseminating its spiritual views; and in the summer of 1598, he published a treatise on the Lord's Supper, under the following title,—*On the Institution, Usage, and Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist in the ancient Church; also when, how, and by what degrees, the Mass was introduced in its place.*

This work had been examined and approved by a committee, appointed for that purpose by the national synod assembled at Saumur; but, contrary to the strenuous advice of his friends, he affixed to it his name, describing himself in the title-page as a counsellor of state to the king of France. De Mornay was not sparing in the use of irritating expressions in this work, calling the sacrifice of the mass “an execrable profanation,” and giving to the pope the name of “Antichrist.” But it was impossible to have anticipated the violence of the animosity with which it inflamed the minds of the Romanists, and particularly the clergy. He had fortified himself, however, against the worst consequences which could befall him, and often repeated the apostle's words, when he saw the storm raging around him,—*We know that all things work together for good to them that love God.*

Cardinal de Medici, the pope's legate in France, being at that time about to return into Italy, carried with him a few copies of De Mornay's work, vowing that a complete answer should soon be returned by the celebrated Bellarmine; and the Jesuits exhorted the parliament of Bourdeaux to condemn it to be burned by the common hangman. Yet so it was, that no reply ever came from the Italian divine; and the president of the parliament of Bourdeaux shrewdly suggested to the jesuits, that it would be wiser in them to refute the book than to insult it. In Paris, and even in the court, it obtained general attention. One attacked the preface, and charged the author with having made false quotations; another brought accusations against the body of the work; and many of the ecclesiastics made their pulpits resound during Lent with declamations against this bold opposer of the doctrines of popery. From Rome an express messenger was despatched with letters to the king, complaining that one of his majesty's most familiar servants had ventured to call the pontiff "Antichrist."

Henry felt it to be his interest to conciliate the pope, and, unmoved by the recollection of past services, he communicated to the friends of De Mornay that this work must prevent his promotion in the world.

When it was intimated to him that such expressions had fallen from the king, he remarked that he had duly foreseen the injury which the treatise might inflict upon his temporal interests, but that the order of his services had ever been, first to God, next to the king, then to his friends, and that his conscience would not admit of any change in that arrangement. Such a course, he said, might doubtless deprive him of the honours of the world, but what were these when set against the service of God: God would surely honour those who honoured Him. He added, that the king had once promised to reform the abuses of the church if ever a time of peace should arrive, that this period had now come, and that the work in question might be a seasonable help towards carrying

those purposes into effect, since it described the ancient constitution of the church.

From the time of its publication he openly professed himself ready to defend the positions maintained in this book; but the bishop of Paris forbade the Roman catholics to enter into any discussions on the subject. The charge, however, of having falsified the authors whom he quoted was of so serious a nature, (being no less than an accusation of fraud and forgery,) that he immediately courted investigation, conscious of his integrity. He declared that he was anxious for an opportunity of showing the veracity of his treatise, and that his majesty could not confer on him a greater favour than by appointing commissioners, before whom he might proceed to verify every passage which he had cited, and to compare his quotations with such copies of the original authors as even his adversaries themselves should approve.

When these observations reached the ears of the king, his majesty sent for Du Perron, bishop of Evreux, who boldly asserted that he could easily overthrow the credit of the work, without even touching upon its arguments, by laying his hand upon five hundred false quotations in its pages. Henry therefore resolved upon a public discussion; and when certain ecclesiastics endeavoured to dissuade him from that measure, he quieted them with an assurance that he would take good care to turn the conference to the advantage of the Romish church, and the disgrace of the heretics.

It is strange to witness the zeal with which the king now embarked in so bad a cause. For twenty-two years the services of De Mornay had been faithful, unwearied, and unrequited. During that period, the glory of the monarch had owed no small share of its lustre to this devoted companion of his arms and his counsels; and the latter, instead of receiving any recompense for his valuable exertions, had made sacrifices of his private fortune for his sovereign's sake. But now, regardless of the claims of gratitude or equity, Henry entered into all Du Perron's

arrangements for his discomfiture. The unfairness of the proposed plan of proceeding excited the extreme indignation of De Mornay, and he forthwith sought, and, after much difficulty, obtained a private audience of the king, a privilege which till lately had been always freely granted to him. Standing in the royal presence, he addressed Henry in these firm and decided terms:—"There was a time, sire, when you spoke of reforming the church, if God should give you peace in your dominions, and you commanded me to devise the means of effecting it. I could think of none more appropriate than that of placing before the eyes of your people a picture of the ancient constitution and faith of the christian church, and this alone has been the design of my book on the Eucharist. It was not the fruit of ambition, for I know the world too well to suppose that such would be the path to its honours. But it has been my misfortune, sire, that those who are alike enemies of the truth and of myself have induced you to believe that my work is full of misrepresentations, while I was flattering myself that the sincerity of my conduct, for more than twenty years of good service, would be a sufficient warrant to your majesty for my speaking the truth. The grief which this has naturally excited, has pierced my heart to the very quick, and prompted me to desire that your majesty should appoint commissioners to examine the passages which I have quoted from the holy fathers, from the beginning to the end, and page by page. And, surely, sire, if the bishop of Evreux had desired to attain the same end as myself, he would have adopted a like course of proceeding. Such an examination might be conducted privately, and with the most beneficial effects, because if your majesty were only interested about the discovery of truth, a fair and free discussion would be provided for. But since the bishop has made it a public question, and has interested the pope's nuncio, and consequently the whole Roman church, in the affair, the case assumes a new aspect, and your majesty is engaged by motives of state policy to give



success to this proceeding, so as to content them at whatever sacrifice. Thus it is my misfortune to have my king, my master, and his state, not for an arbitrator, but a party. Now, sire, if it did not affect my life, or at least my honour, I would cast my book at your feet, and for your service I would let it perish. But since I feel myself bound to the defence of the truth, where it involves the honour of God, I humbly beseech your majesty to pardon me if I persevere in seeking just and reasonable means of maintaining it, against those who have proposed to you to supplant it."

The king answered this address with a severe expression of countenance, to which De Mornay was unaccustomed. He declared that nothing could be more displeasing to him than such an attack upon the pope, to whom he felt as much indebted as to his own father. He had inquired of many learned people, he said, who assured him that De Mornay could not have read all the books which he quoted, and therefore might have been mistaken in his view of the writer's meaning, owing to his own imperfect perusal, or possibly from having adopted the errors of others. He further stated, that he did not think it necessary to require the bishop to enter upon an examination of the whole treatise, but should permit him to open it in whatever part he thought fit, and that he could not account De Mornay a man of probity if he shunned such a method of reviewing it. He also denied being a partisan.

De Mornay replied,—“That he had only attacked papacy, not the person of the pope, a thing which was not forbidden by the edicts;—that nothing was more common under those kings and in those states which tolerated both religions;—that these same learned people of whom the king spoke, ought to have informed him that as some books are intended for a thorough perusal, so others are only designed for occasional reference;—that his book was, properly speaking, an inquiry of several witnesses, whose depositions ought to be examined in

order, and of which some were stronger and others less conclusive, although he doubted not that even the weakest would contribute to confirm the truth." After these observations, he offered to Henry a written proposal of a fair method of examining the work; but the king declined reading it, and merely handed it to his chancellor. Upon this De Mornay said,—“ Well, sire, God’s will be done; I see that a party is formed against me, and that they will induce you to pronounce the condemnation of the truth, within the four walls of an apartment; but I am sure that God will give me grace, if I live, to make it resound to the four corners of the world!”

After many other efforts to obtain a fair hearing, and an impartial examination of his treatise, De Mornay was obliged to submit to the terms which the king dictated. These were, that the bishop should open the book in the king’s presence, and point out fifty passages one by one, if time should allow so many to be examined; and that De Mornay should be required to defend them at once, or to submit to the bishop’s decision. He argued that no human capacity or memory was equal to maintain off hand the correctness of ten thousand quotations; and it was finally arranged that sixty passages should be selected for examination, and that De Mornay should have the night to prepare himself for the discussion. He entered upon this midnight labour after fervent prayer to God, and was strengthened by reflecting upon the power of truth.

The first hour after midnight had elapsed before he received notice of the passages appointed for trial; even then the references were obscure, and having no books, he was obliged to wait until the bishop saw fit to supply them. Thus it was not before two o’clock, that he was enabled to sit down to compare his quotations; but he prepared himself satisfactorily with regard to nineteen, when six o’clock arrived, and the bishop sent to demand the return of the borrowed books. At eight o’clock, he was summoned to attend the conference, but this was only intended to put an end to his preparations, for the

business did not commence until after dinner. The king, hearing that De Mornay had reviewed nineteen of the appointed passages, remarked that they might have been selected as being the least liable to objection; upon which De Mornay answered with warmth,—“Pardon me, sire, this unwonted severity of your majesty towards a faithful servant is very unlike your own natural disposition.” And De Mornay was not mistaken; the king had passed a sleepless night, and his secretary had remarked in the morning, that his majesty had never appeared so anxious on the eve of his most important battles.

At one o'clock, May 4, 1600, the conference\* commenced at Fontainebleau with a speech from the king, prescribing the course which was to be pursued, followed by another from the bishop, consisting chiefly of praises of the king, for his zeal for the church of Rome. Then De Mornay was permitted to speak for himself. “I am here,” he said, “by your majesty’s appointment, to answer for my book. My object in writing has not been ambition, for that would rather have diverted me from such a pursuit, that I might the better preserve your favour. I have only been moved by a zeal to contribute, during your reign, to a holy reformation of the church, an object after which many excellent people have long sighed, and which your majesty at one time resolved to effect, if God should bless you with peace. If this book is prospered to

\* The friends of De Mornay object that the commissioners were not likely to be impartial, and that in point of fact, they acted as advocates and examiners rather than as judges. They are thus described by Mr. Smedley;—“Of the five commissioners, three were Romanists; De Thou and Pithou,—men of blameless integrity, but on that very account the less likely to be indulgent to Du Plessis, because they had been suspected of a bias towards the reformed,—and Martin, one of the king’s physicians. Canaye de Fresne, president of the chamber of Languedoc, who soon afterwards abjured, and Isaac Casaubon, more distinguished for his profound acquaintance with polite literature, than for either his skill or his stability as a theologian, were their Huguenot assessors; and the chancellor Bellievre officiated as president.”—*Smedley*, iii. 60.

such an end, I shall praise my God for it with all my heart, regardless of any loss or dishonour which it may bring upon me. But if it be an unprofitable attempt, I am not so partial to it as to hesitate to burn it with my own hand. I hope, however, that when it shall be fairly examined, my good faith and diligence will both be acknowledged. Yet it ought not to be accounted strange, if out of five or six thousand citations from the fathers, there be found some few in which my eye, my memory, or even my judgment have erred; but I believe the errors to be such as cannot injure the truth of which I have treated. What doctors of the Romish church could bear so rigorous an examination? What man could sustain so searching a trial? Permit me, sire, before I conclude, to protest, that this act is partial and personal in its object, and therefore cannot impugn the truth of the doctrines of the reformed churches in your kingdom. That truth has existed before my time, it will survive me, and by the grace of God, endure for ever."

The commissioners now proceeded to business, and examined nine passages selected by Du Perron, and therefore, we may suppose, the most objectionable that he could cull out of many thousands of quotations. Upon these nine passages, it was pronounced that some were attributed to persons who were not their real authors, that others were not cited with sufficient fulness, others were erroneously interpreted and applied, and one could not be found in the work from which it was professed to be an extract. De Mornay, in fact, had not been sufficiently careful in sifting and weighing each single testimony which he had adduced; but he ably combated the charge of dishonesty, and showed that even if he were deprived of the support of some of the passages, others were not less favourable to his argument when quoted at greater length\*. In the end, he could not acknowledge himself to

\* Mr. Smedley gives a summary account of the judgment of the commissioners in the following terms:—"In two citations, one from Duns Scotus; the other from Durand, concerning

have been defeated, but the victory was adjudged to his opponent.

The king took care to represent that he had gained the day, and wrote off to Paris that "the diocese of Evreux had got the better of that of Saumur," and that it was

Transubstantiation, Du Plessis was said to have been deceived by the method of the schoolmen, and to have incautiously assumed as their own solution that which in truth they had propounded as the objection of others. Two extracts from Chrysostom, and one from Jerome, on the Invocation of Saints, were declared to be mutilated. One from Cyril, on the Adoration of the Cross, was not to be found in his pages: a passage given by Crinitus, as from the Code of Theodosius and Valentinian, was shown to have been incorrectly transcribed by that writer, whose authority was altogether rejected. Two detached paragraphs of Bernard, on the Mediation of the Virgin, had been printed by Du Plessis as if one had been immediately consecutive on the other; and some words of Theodoret on the 113th Psalm, which objected to the idolatry of the pagans, had been represented by him as applicable to the reverence paid to images by the Romanists."

Mr. Smedley adds, that, "It is very probable that Du Perron exhibited himself to great advantage in this disputation; and that so far as copious and fluent elocution, elegance of manner, and a prompt application of very extensive reading, could ensure his success, over an antagonist by no means ready in speech, and somewhat embarrassed in demeanour, he was eminently triumphant. But if we admit, to the fullest extent which has been claimed for it, the correctness of the judgment thus delivered by the commissioners, much may be urged in behalf of Du Plessis; and he appears altogether exculpated from any fraudulent intention. The method of citation employed at the time at which he wrote was far less precise than that to which we of later days have been accustomed. It was for the most part thought enough to indicate the general sentiments of the writer to whom reference was made, and his absolute words were very rarely transcribed. This circumstance is important, as it bears on the only charge which presses heavily on the accused, the attribution of an imaginary passage to Cyril; which, it must be remembered, however, was printed in Du Plessis' treatise in the same letter as the text, and not at all marked as a quotation. It is affirmed that, although the *words* do not exist in that Father, the *spirit* undeniably belongs to him; and that Du Plessis has employed his authority with no greater laxity than the common usage of his contemporaries justified."—Vol. iii., 61-3.

truth alone which had prevailed, since the proceedings had been most equitable. Far different were the sentiments of the greater part of those who were present at the conference; they considered that the Roman catholic religion had gained nothing by the discussion, while one observed that all that he had seen was an ancient and most faithful servant shamefully requited for valuable services.

Harassed by these vexatious and ungenerous proceedings, De Mornay was seized with a serious illness that night; and when the commissioners assembled on the following morning, it was announced that he was utterly unable to attend. The king took that opportunity of sending one of his courtiers to offer condolences, to promise to continue his friend as well as his master, and to assure him that if he would cease writing against the pope, the present cloud should speedily pass away. De Mornay answered, that he could not presume to consider the king his friend, but that he had experienced pretty strong proofs that his majesty was his master. As for his writings, he said, "The truth can subsist without me, it can raise itself without my assistance, but should any person assail it, particularly if by naming me they make me a party, I feel myself bound to defend it. While I live, its enemies shall have no triumphs to boast of, and their only chance of success will be to take away my life." The king, without waiting for the chance of his recovery, dissolved the conference that evening, anxious probably to be saved from any more inglorious triumphs, like that of the preceding day.

De Mornay was on this occasion accompanied by his son; and when the young courtiers taunted him with his father's defeat, he answered,—“What, have you not wit enough to see that they are determined to sacrifice my father to the pope? It is not our religion which is conquered, but by an unprecedented measure they have insulted and disgraced the man who has been the most useful to his king and his country.” These words were

reported to the king, and excited his extreme indignation; and when some of those who stood by made an excuse for the youth, on the ground of his tender years, the king exclaimed, "Nay, I say that he is forty years old; he numbers twenty years of his father's instruction, and twenty years of his own age." And for a long time after, Henry could not be induced to do anything for the advancement of the young soldier.

When De Mornay was sufficiently restored to be able to bear the fatigue of a journey, he withdrew from Fontainebleau. His wife met him on his way homeward, and comforted him by her kind counsels:—"Take courage," she said, "this is God's work. Blessed be the Lord who renders us worthy of the reproach of his Christ; He will take care of his own glory and truth. Only compose yourself, and keep your heart and mind for whatsoever work may claim their exertions."

Arrived at Saumur, he gave to the magistrates, and immediately after to the protestant deputies, a correct account of the past proceedings, and by the advice of the latter body, he drew up a *Discourse* on the late Conference, in which he vindicated his quotations from the charges brought against them. This document gave great contentment to the deputies, and through them to the protestant church throughout France; it was soon after printed in Paris, with some words of commendation by the authorities of the church in that city, and in a few days was circulated throughout the kingdom, to the no small indignation of Henry, who was thus deprived of his momentary and unmerited triumph.

Ten days after the conference, he expressed his feelings in the following manner in a letter to his friend M. de Lomenie, the king's secretary.

I have retired by the advice of my friends, because the proceedings carried on against me show that I am looked upon with no very kindly feelings. If certain persons speak as if this were not so, you, my good friend, are not at a loss for the reason. With what face could I take my leave of the king

after such an attack? I shall, therefore, dispel my grief with as much moderation as I can in this place, and I hope that I shall not be without consolation in this downfall. Certainly I have nothing to be ashamed of, for I have only been engaged in the defence of the truth, which it is always easy to maintain, and which can easily maintain itself, even without assistance.

As little can I think myself in danger, being, by God's grace, of so humble a disposition and so low in my condition, according to the king's pleasure, that I cannot descend lower, and can fall from my highest elevation without contusion or fracture. It is my misfortune, that among the instances of so many servants of kings who have experienced reverses, I find myself in one respect without example; namely, that while in favour they received benefits which rendered their disgrace more supportable, according to the Mareschal de Giè's saying, that "the rain overtook him in a most convenient moment." Whereas you know that at the end of twenty-five years (and what years have most of them been!) I retire without acquisition or property, without office or emolument, as if it were the jubilee of my services. And this would be despair to those who had only served men, but I have served God, and his reward will not be denied. Nevertheless, I shall not, nay I cannot, cease always to wish prosperity to the king; for though the sun scorches us sometimes, and gives us the headach, we do not refuse to acknowledge that we stand in need of his warmth. And thus the life and prosperity of the king, are advantageous to us all; and I shall hope, in common with all the community, that they will conduce to my repose. But surely he will pardon me if I say, and that without presumption, that besides this general influence, I think I have deserved some especial share of his benignity, at least not so rigorous a demonstration of his anger. Here I stop, for I am fearful of exciting my own displeasure; and it only remains for me to entreat the continuance of your affection, and that you will occasionally send me tidings of yourself.

In the above letter, he did not fully describe the state of his finances, for not only had he failed to gain anything by the service of the king, but had actually sold portions of his own property and that of his wife to serve his royal master, to the injury of his family. He now



carried with him, into private life, the affections and sympathies of multitudes whose regard it was consoling to possess. From the churches of France, and even from foreign protestants, he received letters declaring that they approved of his labours, and participated in his sorrows. He had also the satisfaction of learning that his book had brought conviction to the minds of many waverers, and had awakened a spirit of inquiry in several papists.

At home he now carefully revised the work, examined and compared all the quotations, introduced at greater length those which his adversaries objected to as being incomplete, and confirmed them by others of similar import. These he placed in the margin, and in the original language, that the reader might be enabled to judge of their meaning for himself. When this labour was accomplished he wrote to a national synod of the churches, requesting them to subject it to a close and critical examination; in accordance with which, they passed a resolution—"That M. de Mornay should be thanked and congratulated, by letters from the synod, for his labours in defence of the truth, and that the pastors and professors of Geneva should be requested to undertake the investigation, in compliance with his wishes."

In due time the divines of Geneva returned so favourable a report, that the synod passed another resolution, repeating their thanks for his valuable labours, and requesting him to give them immediate publicity.

The pastors and professors in the church of Geneva having read (according to the desire of the late synod of Gergeau) the book of the lord Du Plessis upon the Eucharist, and given a very honourable testimony to it, this national synod doth tender unto his lordship their hearty thanks, for his great zeal and affection to the truth of God, and for his worthy labours in defence thereof, and orders that it be printed out of hand, believing that the Lord will give his blessing to it\*.

In the same year, 1601, in the month of September, the king, in the fulness of his joy at the birth of a son

\* SMEDLEY, *Hist. Ref. in France*, iii. 70, 1.

and heir to the crown, wrote to his faithful servant to announce the tidings. De Mornay, in reply, assured Henry, "That God had given him this son not so much in answer to the wishes of his majesty, as to the prayers of his people; and that he besought God to preserve the young dauphin for the sake both of the king and of the nation." Then, after declaring that all good subjects were delighted at the event, he added, that "amidst this public joy, there was a pleasure peculiar to himself, in finding that this event was the occasion of calling him to his majesty's remembrance." It is said that the king's heart was touched by this reference to their recent estrangement, but policy forbade him to invite De Mornay to court, for fear of giving offence to the pope.

Nearly two years were allowed to pass before the appearance of any answer to De Mornay's account of the conference and examination of his work on the *Eucharist*; and then he found it easy to draw up a reply within the space of a very few weeks.

Our notice of this work, and of the consequences of its publication, has already occupied so many pages, that we shall only add one more incident, which shows that the enemies of truth resorted to more desperate and violent means of disposing of an adversary than clamour and unfair disputation. One Sunday, in the early part of January, 1602 (in the interval between the conference and the publication of the second edition of the treatise on the Eucharist), De Mornay was at church at Saumur, according to his usual custom. A curtain of tapestry was hanging around his seat, on account of his having the hooping-cough, to protect him from the cold atmosphere, and probably to prevent the infection from spreading. During service a young man walked up the church, raised the curtain with his left hand, and then turning pale and trembling, retired with a person who had accompanied him. At the door he was seen in conversation with a monk in a dark habit. De Mornay's attention was so fixed upon the sermon that he did not observe what

occurred; but as he walked out of church with his son, the latter related the circumstances which he had noticed, and his father then directed him to institute some inquiries. Next day the young man who had conducted himself in so mysterious a manner was found, and brought to De Mornay, when, after close questioning and much equivocation, he confessed that he had been hired by the monk to assassinate him. The monk himself, being afterwards apprehended, acknowledged his guilt, and declared that he had been sent for that evil purpose by a convent of capuchins, at Brussels, who had given him letters of recommendation to the jesuits of Douay; and that he had afterwards been passed across the kingdom from one vicar-general to another. Documents confirming this confession were found upon his person; he was tried and hanged, and his wretched agents were condemned, the one to the galleys, and the other to banishment for life.

This event appears to have revived the kindly feelings with which the king was wont to regard De Mornay. He sent many indirect communications, offering to restore him to favour. But the protestant champion feared that the king might stipulate with him to throw aside his pen, as a necessary condition of reconciliation; and his notions of duty were such, that he could not accede to those terms with a safe conscience. However, in June 1602, he thought it might not be proper to defer paying attention to the sovereign's wishes, and he wrote the following preparatory letter:—

SIRE,—The last look which it was my misfortune to receive from your majesty, made me apprehensive of again approaching your presence, not being sufficiently certified of a favourable reception. Not that in my darkness I have experienced no sparks of your goodness, but that they became extinct so soon, that they were rather calculated to dazzle than to enlighten me; and they were so little followed up, that I saw occasion rather to draw back in respectful uncertainty, than to allow myself to advance with presumptuous confidence. Now, therefore, sire, I humbly supplicate your majesty to

pardon either my just apprehension, or my needless reserve, and to remember, notwithstanding, the faithfulness of the past years of my life, which, by the grace of God, shall never be contradicted by my years to come,

To this letter he received an encouraging answer, but when the meeting at length took place, the king did not exhibit that cordiality and confidence which had been accustomed to distinguish their intercourse.

In April, 1604, the corrected and enlarged edition of his book on the *Eucharist* issued from the press, the margin being filled with quotations at length from the fathers and other authors. Soon after, the king introduced the subject at his supper-table, mentioning the publication in conversation with Du Perron. "I have read it," said the bishop, "and it abounds with falsities more than the former one." The king, who was just then in a humour to give a rebuff to the prelate, answered, "I do not recommend you to write against him, for he has too strong a pen, and you would have lost your credit in that conference, were it not for my authority and your own loud talking. Meanwhile I am at a loss what to say to my catholic nobles, whom I assured, relying on your promise, that you should reply to his treatise on the *Church*, which has now been circulated so many years. I have no inclination to be deceived any more in this way." When the bishop excused himself by alleging that he had a multiplicity of business to interrupt him, Henry asked, "And do you suppose that the other has nothing to do?"

In the year 1605, De Mornay wrote to some of his friends in Germany, proposing the formation of a general synod of all the reformed churches of Europe. The suggestion was seriously entertained; and it was resolved that an embassy should be sent to the king of England, James the first, requesting him to appoint some deputies on his part to attend the contemplated assembly. At the same time, James was entreated to moderate his severity towards the puritans, on the ground that they differed from the

rest of the church merely about ceremonies, and not on questions of faith or duty; the puritans also were urged to relax their moroseness and obstinacy about things indifferent, and to show their prince, by their respectful obedience, that they felt themselves bound in conscience to be loyal subjects.

The project for a general synod failed in England, through the machinations of certain jesuits, who contrived to persuade the king that the real design was to establish a political alliance between the protestant church of France, and those of other countries.

It was in the month of October, in the same year, that this faithful but neglected servant of his prince repaired once more to court, by especial invitation. The topics of conversation, on the first day of their meeting, were political, and had no reference to the king's estrangement from De Mornay. Next day they rode out together to a mansion about a league distant from Châtelherault (the place where the king was then residing), and there they supped. Henry then declared that he was truly glad to see again a counsellor who had always given him good advice; and it was observed that, at all his meals, the king entertained his guests by recounting De Mornay's remarkable services, and that he likewise expressed much regret that his writings had rendered it impossible to retain him near his person. In the course of conversation, De Mornay remarked, "You have spoken much to me, sire, of all your affairs, and of all the world. In this you do me very great honour, and yet I do not feel quite satisfied without your majesty's saying a little more about myself. For I know that certain persons wish to bring down upon me your majesty's displeasure, which makes me humbly implore permission to clear myself." The king attempted to dismiss the subject, by declaring that he had never experienced anything but fidelity from De Mornay, and that he never expected him to act inconsistently with that principle.

De Mornay answered, that his mind could not be satis-

fied with such general expressions, since the imputations against him were distinct and particular; to which Henry replied, "When you were absent from me, people spoke of you to me, and of me to you, but how could that influence us? We know one another!"—"Yes, sire," he rejoined, "but the misfortune is, that what they relate to me of you, cannot injure you, but what they tell you of me, works my ruin." The king smiled, and De Mornay went on to explain those circumstances in which he thought himself to have been misrepresented, and besought him to listen with much doubtfulness to any future calumnies.

Henry appeared to be satisfied; and desired him to pass three months every year at court. De Mornay soon after took his leave, and returned home.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE DEATH OF HIS SON AND WIFE.

Sigh not, ye winds, as passing o'er  
 The chambers of the dead ye fly;  
 Weep not, ye dews, for these no more  
 Shall ever weep, shall ever sigh!—ANONYMOUS.

THE home to which De Mornay returned was soon to become a house of mourning, and its pleasant scenes and domestic enjoyments to be exchanged for the mere remembrance of precious but transitory blessings. The first affliction that awaited him was the death of his only son.

This young man was endowed with abilities which were calculated to shine in peace or war, and his father had not failed to endeavour to introduce him to the favourable notice of the king. But the son was made to share the neglect which his father experienced; and being thus

disappointed in his hopes of military employment in his own country, he entered the service of the state of Geneva. The quarrel, however, which induced that government to take up arms against the duke of Savoy, having been settled by negotiation, the young soldier returned home without having had an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the field. He also served in the armies of Holland.

In 1605, when the sparks of Henry's affection for De Mornay began to re-ignite, the minister Sully wrote to offer him employment for his son. M. des Boves (for that was his name) was well received at court, and was studiously assured that the invitation had proceeded from the king alone, who was also immediately pleased to promise him a regiment.

Few more pathetic or affectionate letters have been addressed by a mother to a son just going out into the world, than that which now stands at the head of madame De Mornay's memoir of her husband, and which was written about this time:—

My Son,—God is my witness, that even before your birth he put into my heart a hope that you would be his servant, and this ought to be some token of his grace, and an admonition to you to perform your duty. With this intent, your father and I have taken pains to nurture you carefully in his fear, which as much as in us lies, we have caused you to imbibe from you earliest infancy; we have also taken care to prepare you for its reception, to instruct you in all good learning, (and, thanks be to Him, with some measure of success,) in order that you may be able not only to live but to shine in his church. I now see you ready to go forth into the world, to become acquainted with the manners of men and the conditions of nations, and although I cannot follow you with my eye, I shall follow you with the same affection. I beseech God that these instructions may accompany you everywhere—that you may increase in the fear and love of God, advance in the knowledge of everything good, grow strong in the calling which you have received from Him to his service, and return all that He has implanted in you, as

well as all that He shall hereafter implant, to his honour and glory. By the appointment of his providence you were born in his church—a privilege which he has withheld from so many nations, and from so many distinguished men. Adore, my son, with deep reverence, this privilege of being born a christian! He has caused you to be born in the light of a church withdrawn from the kingdom of darkness, and from the tyranny of Antichrist, which had encompassed us in preceding ages, and in which the great people of the world, the powers of the present age, for the most part continue still. Adore with renewed gratitude this mercy, this special care which God has extended to you, in exempting you from the general apostasy which has usurped dominion over so many periods, and so long a succession of ages. But He has also given you a father, by whom he has seen fit to be served in his day, and will still be served to his glory—who has dedicated you to his service from infancy, who in this hope has brought you up, with due regard to your tender age, in piety and learning, who in sum has omitted nothing, by most ardent prayers to God, and anxious care for your education, to render you one day capable of inheriting his work.

Reflect that by such ways God desires to bring you to great things, to make you an instrument, in your time, of that restoration of the church which cannot be much longer delayed. Lift up your whole soul to this purpose; and doubt not in the mean time, my son, that God will assist you—that in seeking Him you will find Him ready to meet you—that in pursuing his honour, you will receive more than the world can either give or promise. But also fear his judgments if you neglect Him, or if you possess his favours in ingratitude: for mercy despised turns to condemnation, and the more special the favours, the more deserving of punishment will be the neglect or abuse of them.

You are young, my son, and divers imaginations present themselves to youth, but be ever mindful of the saying of the Psalmist—*Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto according to thy word.* You will also find numbers of persons who will desire to turn you aside to the left hand or to the right: but say again with him—*I am a companion of all them that fear thee, and of them that keep thy precepts. Thy testimonies also are my delight and my counsellors.*



But, again, in order that you may not be without a guide, here is one which I present to you from my own hand, to be your familiar companion. It is the example of your father; and I adjure you to have ever before your eyes this information which I have been able to gather concerning his life, notwithstanding those interruptions of our intercourse which have been occasioned by the calamities of the times. There is enough to make you acquainted with the graces which God has conferred upon him, and the zeal and affection with which he has employed them, and to give you hope of like assistance from the divine bounty, when you resolve to serve God with all your heart.

I am in a delicate state of health, and have reason to think that it will not please God to leave me long in the world. Take care of this writing in remembrance of me; and when the time arrives in which God shall see fit to deprive you of your father, I enjoin you to finish what I have begun to write concerning the course of our life. But above all, my son, I would believe that you will hold in continual remembrance this my injunction, to serve God wherever you are, and to follow the example of your father. I shall go down contented to my grave, at whatever hour God may call me, when I shall have beheld you steadily pursuing the way to advance his honour, whether by assisting your father in his holy labours, so long as God shall preserve him to you, (and I entreat God that it may be for many years, to serve Him to his glory, and to guide you through the paths of the world)—or whether by causing him to revive in you, whenever God shall, by his gracious disposal, appoint you to survive him.

I further commend your sisters to your care. Show, by your affection to them, that you love your mother, and would have continued to love her. Think also, that young as you are, if God removes us hence, you ought to be to them a father. And I pray God, my son, that he may grant you all to live in his fear, and in true affection one towards another; and in confidence of this, I give you my blessing, and beseech Him with all my heart to ratify it in Jesus Christ his Son, and to communicate to you his Holy Spirit.

Written at Saumur, this Tuesday, the 25th of April, 1595.

Your most affectionate and loving mother,

CHARLOTTE ARBALESTE.

During the stay of young Des Boves in Paris, he became an object of much interest and affection amongst his acquaintance. "Every one is anxious to serve him," wrote one of De Mornay's correspondents, "so greatly have his virtues and modesty gained upon our regard."

But while he was attending the court, he was betrayed into an act which was deemed necessary to the character of a gentleman, and the inconsistency of which with the conduct of a christian was not then discerned as it ought to have been. He was challenged to single combat by a gentleman who declared himself aggrieved by some act which De Mornay had performed in the discharge of public duty. Des Boves willingly accepted the summons, "as was too much the custom," says the French biographer, "amongst the noblesse;" but the king was pleased to interfere, and took effectual measures for preventing the duel, and thus preserving the young soldier from committing a manifest crime against the laws of God.

Meanwhile, the occasion for levying fresh troops passed away, and Des Boves, finding that his services were not required, asked Henry's permission to take leave of his majesty, and to return to Holland, which was immediately granted. He then went down to Saumur to bid farewell to his parents, and explained to them the reason of his departure from the court. They were by no means favourable to his proposed expedition, and for many reasons, both of a private and public nature, urged him to remain at home. But his heart seemed so intent upon obtaining some active employment, that they yielded at length to his wishes, commending him to the grace of God, with many pious benedictions, and his mother addressing him in the affecting language of Jacob, "Remember, my son, that if mischief befall you, then will you bring down our gray hairs with sorrow to the grave."

Arriving in the Low Countries he joined the army of prince Maurice against the Spaniards, and acquitted

himself honourably in some skirmishes which took place between the hostile armies. Soon after his arrival, a fatal opportunity occurred for the trial of his courage. Count William of Nassau had devised a stratagem for taking the city of Gueldres by surprise. Des Boves was at the time confined to his bed by a wound received from the kick of his horse. But instantly on hearing of this project he started from his bed, and regardless of the wound, threw himself into a vehicle which was provided for the carriage of ammunition, and proceeded to the scene of action. Morning had dawned before the party which he accompanied reached the walls of Gueldres, but they resolved not to defer the attempt, and Des Boves set out on the enterprise, animating and cheering the spirits of the few intrepid men who followed him. But the garrison of the town was already at its post, and a shot from the walls struck the brave youth in the breast, and killed him on the spot.

“Such,” says the French biographer, “was the end of M. des Boves, the only son of M. du Plessis, honourable in his profession, and precious before God and all that are his, since he was born in the church, brought up in his fear, and employed in a just war; but the beginning and end of most bitter regret to his father and mother, which death alone could extinguish. He was twenty-six years of age, endued with rare gifts of body and mind, skilled in many languages and accomplishments, and, having visited most parts of Europe, had left a favourable impression wherever he went. This was his third visit to the Low Countries, where he had distinguished himself on many occasions. If one may venture an opinion as to the counsels of God, it seems probable enough that He took him away, after having first shown him to the world, lest his virtue should have proved burdensome in this age, and men should have envied him the opportunities of exercising it, and withheld the rewards which ought to attend it. Moreover, we may consider that his father was thus spared from seeing him the victim of disappoint-

ment, and that God purposed to deprive him (De Mornay) of all private interests amidst the events which were at hand, and designed that he should have no family to care for but the church, and that in serving it he might not be exposed to the scandal of having any other purposes beside the public good." Prince Maurice wept when he heard of this promising scion having been thus early cut off; and when tidings of his death reached the French court, the king exclaimed, "I have lost the most hopeful gentleman in my kingdom; I pity his father, and must send to condole with him; his loss exceeds that of any other parent." And accordingly he despatched immediately a kind and consolatory letter.

The unhappy intelligence reached De Mornay through the pastor of the church at Saumur, and another friend, to whom it had been communicated with that intent. The family had ceased to expect letters that day by the public messenger, the usual hour having passed, when these friends arrived at the castle, and met De Mornay at the door of his chamber. Their tears rather than their words bespoke the sad news with which they were charged, and the unhappy father, anticipating all that he was to hear, exclaimed, in an agony of grief, "I have lost my son—I have therefore lost my wife." He then entered his lady's apartment, and, unable to conceal his emotion, said, "This day, my love, God calls us to a trial of our faith and obedience. Since He has done it, it becomes us to be silent." Madame de Mornay perceiving at once the intelligence which he had to communicate, swooned away, and when she came to herself her first words were, "The will of God be done! We might have lost him in a duel, and then whence could we have derived consolation?"

De Mornay's secretary declares that it is impossible to describe the distress of these afflicted parents. The family circle was now completely broken up, for their daughters were all married and had removed from home, and this only son, who was the common object of their thoughts

and conversation, and upon whom they were wont to look as the solace of their declining years, was cut off in the flower of his age.

Some months after, they had the melancholy satisfaction of depositing his remains in a new tomb at Saumur, which they also destined to be their own last resting-place.

Under this dispensation, the progress of some of De Mornay's works through the press afforded occupation and relief to his mind. The Latin version of his treatise on the Eucharist was published at Frankfort, and met with extraordinary approbation in every part of Europe, to which the reformed faith had spread. It is also probable that he was employed in communication with his friend De Licques, who, in the course of that year (1605), completed a Latin translation of the answer to the bishop of Evreux.

Throughout his life, it was the frequent pleasure of this excellent man to commit his religious meditations to writing; and it so happened that, only a few days before hearing of his son's death, he had finished a paper of meditations on those cheering words of St. Paul, (2 Tim. iv. 7, 8,) *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.* About the same time also he wrote a tract on *Lent*, and another on *Baptism*.

It was a happy circumstance that his thoughts were thus employed upon subjects of christian reflection; for his cup of sorrow was not yet full. An unbroken sadness had clouded the mind of madame De Mornay since the death of her son; and although she derived great consolation from the word of God, and never spoke of her affliction to others without a firmness which communicated comfort to them, yet the effect of this determined fortitude, as indeed her husband foresaw, was only to break her heart the sooner. In solitude she wept day and night,

whenever she could conceal her tears from him; but in his presence she endeavoured to compose herself, in order to mitigate his sorrow. Amongst her attendants, however, she spoke of nothing but death; which thus became more familiar to her day by day.

On Sunday morning, the 7th of May, 1606, she had attended the church, and, although much indisposed, passed the afternoon in her cabinet, in her wonted devotional exercises. Among other things she began to write a memorandum, containing advice to her daughters concerning the education of their children, which she requested De Mornay to examine and correct; after which, feeling herself seriously unwell, she went to bed. During the continuance of this her last illness, she frequently expressed a longing desire to be absent from the body and present with the Lord. She employed her intervals of ease in prayer and hearing the Scriptures; and her only sorrow seemed to be occasioned by the thought that her husband would be left alone in the world, which was the only cause for her wishing the number of her days to be lengthened.

On Sunday, the fourteenth of the month, De Mornay was reposing rather than sleeping, when the physician came to inform him that her hour was at hand. He immediately sent off for M. Bouchereau, the pastor of their church, and then betook himself to her bed-side. As she had often requested that he would give her due warning of her departure,—desiring, as she said, to make a final profession of her faith,—he now thought it right to communicate the intelligence, but grief prevented his utterance. His wife immediately perceived the cause, and, before he could speak, embraced him and said, “that she had lived long enough in the world, and that her heart was completely weaned from it.” Being now a little more composed, he answered that she certainly was in danger, and that it was the safest course to be always ready to appear in the presence of God, in whose hands she was reposing. She then asked him, with great com-

posure, whether it was the physician who had announced to him her danger? To this question he expressed assent. "Well," said she, in a firm yet submissive tone, "there is nothing for which I have praised God so much as for giving me to you, excepting only for vouchsafing to me a knowledge of salvation through Jesus Christ. For my sake, take in good part his removal of me from such misery as I endure. I know that He has more work for you to do; and O, let not the grief which my death occasions, render you less useful to his church. I beseech God, with all my soul, to strengthen and bless you more and more. As for myself, I am going to my God, persuaded that nothing can separate me from the love which He has for me in his well-beloved Son. My Redeemer liveth, and shall stand in the latter day upon the earth. The field is won, and, through his gracious favour, I share the fruits of his victory. I am therefore confident that, in this my flesh, I shall hereafter see my Redeemer and my God." Weak as she was, she uttered these words with a strong voice, and with much animation; and while her husband's remarks were interrupted by his sobs, her mind was so tranquil that she could express her thoughts freely. "Christ, my Lord, is ascended into heaven. He must needs ascend there perfect: He does not leave behind any of his members. By his grace I am one of these, and therefore I am going to Him." When she observed that her attendants wept, she asked them if they repined at her happiness; "Do you not know," she said, "that I am going to my God, to be made a partaker of his glory?"

When the pastor arrived, he repeated to her some of the most comfortable passages of the holy Scriptures, making pauses, according to her express desire, for her to give utterance to her thoughts on the subjects to which they referred. Thus, more than four hours were passed in pious conversation, prayer, and reading. She particularly requested to hear the 16th, 25th, 31st, 32nd, 51st, 91st, and 130th Psalms; and when they came to those verses

which assure the faithful of the favour of God, and of their salvation, she remarked, "This belongs to me!" "That is said for me!" At intervals she requested a short silence, that she might raise her soul to God, and meditate on the glory which awaited her; but soon she renewed their holy conversation, assuring her husband that she deemed him the only object of pity, since all the happiness was on her side. She besought God, with peculiar earnestness, to exempt her from violent pain, and to preserve her in so sound a frame of mind that she might glorify Him to the last. And although her pain increased, yet she declared that her prayer was granted according to its spirit, since she was still permitted to enjoy heavenly meditation. "I remember," she said, "that God dealt in like manner with M. de Bernapré, captain of this castle, who, in the midst of the severest agonies, glorified God even to his latest breath." She retained her faculties to the last, and was as thoughtful of her friends and family, as she was wont to be in perfect health. She spoke of her death, and her prospects afterwards, with the same composure as she would have noticed the ordinary occurrences of life.

Some days before her illness had assumed this alarming character, she and her husband had made a common will, in which the following passages occur:—

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. We, Philip de Mornay and Charlotte Arbaleste, lord and lady of Great Plessis Marly, having, by the grace of God, lived together in marriage more than thirty years, and having several times testified our last will, because of the uncertainty of human affairs, now make an entirely new will, in consequence of the changes which have since taken place, revoking all that has been directed by the former one. I, Philip, by the grace of God in good health, yet not the less mindful of the frailty of this life;—I, Charlotte, reduced by tedious illness with which God has seen fit to afflict me (may He thus bring me more to Himself!)—and both of us, by his grace, of sound mind and understanding,—make, conjointly, this present testament, which we wish and intend to be in full and complete force after our decease.



And first, we adore the infinite mercies of our God, in that having caused us to be born amidst the thick darkness of the Romish church, through which no human mind can see, He has deigned to visit and enlighten us from on high with his broad and gracious light, teaching us to know and embrace our salvation only in Jesus Christ, his well-beloved Son, offered and announced to us in his holy gospel; namely, that since all the human race is lost in Adam, yea, since each is lost in himself, we know and believe that He has so loved the world, that He gave the Son of his love for a ransom and satisfaction for the sins of those to whom He has given to believe in Him, by his pure grace,—and in particular for the sins of ourselves, the greatest of sinners, who, (solemnly renouncing all which can proceed from ourselves, or from any other creature,) acknowledge no other merit than the mere mercy of the Creator,—the redemption and justification unto salvation which the Father freely gives to us in his Son, our Saviour.

Specially we render thanks to our good God, for that He has not only granted us to believe this sound and holy doctrine, and to reject every other that is either directly or indirectly contrary to it, but also to confess, protest, and declare it, according to the measure of grace which He has been pleased to afford us; even to have instructed our children and family in it, and that we have seen, and still see them, advancing in his love, and training up their families therein,—beseeching Him to continue his sacred blessing, by granting us, whether we live or die, to edify the church therein to our latest breath; even to seal with our blood the sacred truth which is contained in his Word, which is our only rule, conformably to the confession of the Reformed Churches of this kingdom, if we have the honour of being called to bear such testimony to our faith. But since we cannot expect this from the weakness of our flesh, we here implore the grace and power of his Holy Spirit to make us increase more and more in faith, and to perfect his strength in our weakness.

And although temporal favours bear no proportion in their value to spiritual, especially to those which have reference to a future state of happiness, we praise God to the best of our ability for the paternal care which He has been pleased to extend to us through the whole course of our lives; having pre-

served us from countless dangers, given us abundance in times of the greatest distress, brought us out of extreme perplexities, —and all for his name's sake; perpetually opposing his mercies to our miseries, his power and the strength of his promises to our difficulties and distrusters.

There is one thing which we ought to take for a most certain verity, (and therefore may we so take it!) that even this last affliction by which God has lately seen fit to try us, in taking to Himself our only son, though it seems to us an irreparable loss, will promote our benefit and salvation, as all things do to those that fear Him, and whom He deigns to love according to his settled purpose in Jesus Christ, his well-beloved Son, our Saviour.

But specially we owe Him infinite thanks that, since we have to pass a life full of afflictions on account of our profession of his sacred truth, He has been pleased to soften them by giving us one to another; by giving to me, Philip, my beloved Charlotte, abundantly endued with the knowledge and fear of God; to whom I owe this testimony, if I would not be ungrateful to God, that in the labours, disappointments, and sufferings, which have befallen me in his holy cause, she has never been a burden to me, but, on thy contrary, always a consolation both by word and deed, bearing up against affliction, notwithstanding her usual maladies, to administer comfort in proportion to my distress; nor less, by giving to me, Charlotte, my most honoured Philip, from whom I have received so much instruction for the salvation of my soul, so much spiritual consolation in my sufferings, so much alleviation of my griefs, so much kindness, to sweeten my bitterest portion; who has never grown fatigued or wearied in bearing and sustaining with me the crosses which God has laid upon me, and in rendering them as supportable as he could by his sympathy and constant assistance; so that I am bound to confess that all other temporal blessings are unworthy to be compared with this; and that, next to the knowledge which God has mercifully given me of my salvation through his only Son, there is nothing for which I have praised him so much, not even for all the rest of them together, as for having so happily disposed of me in the pilgrimage which I have to make through this life.

I, Philip, therefore, most heartily beseech my Lord and my

God, by the bowels of his mercies in his well-beloved, that if I should die before her (an event which I know will be full of bitterness and most distressing to her), He will be pleased to console her by the effectual working of his Holy Spirit, and to grant her a double share of his fatherly protection, that she may end her days in repose of body and tranquillity of mind.

And so, with a reciprocal feeling, I, Charlotte, make a similar prayer for my much-honoured, very-dear, and greatly-beloved Philip, of whose tender affection for me I am deeply sensible, and know how he would grieve for my loss. And I feel assured that the Father which is in heaven will again bring together the soul of the survivor and that of the departed, in the life of blessedness, and, on that great day, will re-unite our souls and bodies, that they may enjoy together eternal glory.

After this expression of their piety towards God, and love for each other, they proceed to give directions for the distribution of their property amongst their children and some other near relations, reserving the following bequests for the support of religion and for charitable purposes, viz.:—100*l.* per annum for the maintenance of the pastor of the reformed church at Plessis-Marly; 50*l.* a-year for the poor members of that church, particular regard being had to those who resided on De Mornay's estate; 200*l.* a-year for the pastors at Saumur; 100*l.* for the support of a theological student; and 50*l.* for the poor protestants at Saumur. The will also contains the following excellent advice to the surviving family.

We most earnestly recommend to our sons-in-law and our daughters, both for the love of God, and for the honour which they wish to do to our memory, to love one another, and to live together as examples of concord. Above all, to increase more and more in the fear of God, to have a great regard for his service, to cause their children to be well instructed in the true religion and in all goodness, and, as far as they are able, to perpetuate the ministry of God's word in their estates, houses, and families; convinced that nothing can so surely bring down a blessing upon them as to give shelter to the ark

of God\*. And in this firm hope and assurance, we pronounce our own blessing with all our heart, both upon them and their families, and beseech Him, through his Son our Lord, to prosper and ratify it to them all.

After this, madame De Mornay begged her husband to give their whole household one year's wages, in memory of her, to take particular care of those who had served her, and to distribute a certain sum to the poor. Remembering also that an aged gentlewoman, of her acquaintance, was affected by great fear of death, she invited her to visit her, and endeavoured by her example and persuasions to diminish those apprehensions, through the influence of a pious hope of eternal life. She also repeated her anxious wishes that her grand-children might be nurtured in the fear of God †.

De Mornay, perceiving symptoms of speedy dissolution, besought her, in these last hours, to pray for him, who would be left behind, he said, in a world of sorrow; upon which she poured forth her heart before God with redoubled fervour. When the physician, who was a Roman catholic, exhorted her to take courage, she pointed upwards and said, "My courage is on high." The doctor was astonished at her firmness, and advised those who stood round to speak to her no more of the things of this

\* See 2 Samuel, vi. 9—12.

† De Mornay's opinion of the manner in which the education of children ought to be conducted, is expressed in a paper sent by him to the princess of Orange, who particularly requested a statement of his views, in order to apply them to the instruction of her son. With regard to religion he speaks thus:—"The first thing to be instilled into the minds of children is to fear God. This is the beginning, the middle, and the end of wisdom. Next, they ought to be induced to be kind one to another. Great care ought to be taken to guard against speaking on improper subjects in their presence, since lasting impressions are made at a very early age; on the contrary, our conversation ought to be on good and instructive topics. Imperceptibly to themselves or others, they derive great benefit from such discourse, for it is quite certain that children take the tinge either of good or evil, without the process being perceived."

world. It was only on the preceding day that she had conversed with him, when he came to attend her, upon the consolation possessed by members of the reformed religion at the hour of their death. "They felt an assurance," she said, "that they were going to God through Jesus Christ his Son, whereas members of the church of Rome were left in dreadful dismay on account of their sins, and in doubt about their way and their salvation." Thus she showed in her death, as she had ever done in her life, a singular care for the edification of all around her.

As her hour drew near, she besought the pastor to remind her, in her last moments, of those sacred words which our Lord uttered upon the cross, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit*,—in order that she might die with the same expressions upon her lips; but she thought of them without his help, and after pronouncing them distinctly, added those which follow in the Psalm (xxxii. 5), *Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth*; after which the minister offered up the Lord's Prayer in accordance with her wishes. She then calmly awaited her deliverance, uttering holy words, in the midst of which her tongue faltered, and she ceased to breathe.

The excellent De Mornay, who had watched her with most affectionate interest, and sedulously ministered to all her wants in her sickness, was overwhelmed with mingled feelings of gratitude for the happiness of her departure, and distress at his own bereavement.

Madame de Mornay was endued with a remarkably quick and vigorous mind, and a ripe and sound judgment, which no disaster or danger could overpower. Her strict virtue, and her freedom in censuring vice, obtained for her not only the love of the good, but the fear and respect of the most wicked and abandoned. Above all her christian charity shone brightly, and was unbounded in scattering blessings amongst the poor and afflicted. De Mornay had the satisfaction of reflecting, that she had always encouraged him to encounter any danger, loss, or

difficulty, in promoting the glory of God, that she had assisted him with valuable counsels, and had been careful of the church, as well as of her own family. Her death took place on the 15th of May, 1606, at the age of fifty-seven; and when she was carried to her burial, her remains were followed by the tears of the whole population of the town, catholic as well as protestant. She was deposited in the family vault, near the coffin of her son, a space being reserved between them, by her husband's particular desire, for his own last earthly abode.

This period of De Mornay's life, saddened as it was by the loss of two beloved relatives, who had contributed largely to the sum of his happiness, was accounted by him a season of profitable chastening; and he was wont to say, that as his wife had assisted him to live well, so she should teach him to die well. In the same spirit he wrote thus to Casaubon:—"My afflictions are such as you may easily imagine. I endure the bitterness as well as I am able, and I find my consolation in God. To Him my remaining days shall be devoted,—days which, however short, will be too long for me!"

His chief consolation, as far as this world was concerned, arose from the affectionate regard of his three daughters, who were all happily married to honourable men of the protestant faith, and whose husbands ever treated him with the reverence of sons. He also experienced the sympathy of numerous friends, expressed by visits, letters, and kind messages, from various quarters, even from foreign countries. But above all, he found comfort in the Word of God and pious meditations, by which he daily endeavoured to wean his heart from the world. In the midst of his sorrows he wrote his reflections on those appropriate words in the book of Proverbs: *My son despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of Him; for whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.*

When he had a little recovered his spirits, he wrote

an *Address to the Jews*, which he had commenced at the instance of madame De Mornay, who always had at heart those words of the Apostle (Rom. xi. 25, 26), which promise a notable conversion of the Jews after *the fulness of the Gentiles*. This tract was printed in the same year at Saumur; he afterwards published an edition of it in Latin; and the elder Buxtorf saw occasion to commend his judicious application of Hebrew learning.

In the same year he took great pains to fill up some vacancies in the university of Saumur, of which he was the founder, with efficient tutors and professors, amongst whom he secured the assistance of two approved scholars and divines who were Scotchmen. To one of these his biographer gives the name of Trochorege, to the other that of Graig. From this time the academy began to flourish. The noblesse of France sent their sons there from distant parts, and many youths came from foreign countries.

He passed the following winter and spring at court; during which time a day rarely passed in which he had not a private audience of the king. At the end of seven months Henry reluctantly granted him permission to depart, and expressed great regret at being still unable to serve him, much as he desired it, adding that De Mornay knew the cause, meaning the displeasure of the pope. He commanded him, however, to come occasionally to court; and, after a little conversation about the protestants, whom De Mornay defended from some calumnies which had reached the king's ear, Henry bade him adieu with every expression of favour and respect.

He returned to Saumur on the 14th of June, 1607, and after a few days commenced his famous work, entitled, *The Mystery of Iniquity, or A History of the Papacy*. His design was to show the world by what degrees the popes had advanced to the height of their power, and what opposition honest men of all nations had offered to their encroachments, from time to time. He strengthened his argument by numerous quotations from history and

the fathers; and before proceeding to the publication of the work, prepared a translation of it into Latin, in order to adapt it to the perusal of the learned all over Europe. His familiar acquaintance with that language may be inferred from the fact, that he dictated this translation, and that his secretary found it difficult to write fast enough to keep up with him.

In the year 1608, he corresponded with Sir George Carew, the king of England's ambassador at the court of France, urging the formation of a protestant union for the purpose of enlarging the Messiah's kingdom, and overthrowing the dominion of antichrist. De Mornay's letters represented that king James would be the fittest instrument for the establishment of this union, and that the tranquil state of his dominions made the present a favourable opportunity for effecting it.

Letters to other persons have also been preserved, which testify that he was anxiously engaged in promoting the eternal peace of the church. When the opinions of Arminius began to excite general attention, he proposed to the French protestants to adopt measures for obtaining a full and impartial exposition of that learned professor's sentiments; and his further advice was,—“Treat these doctrines soberly, and their teachers discreetly, so long as for their part they expound them religiously.” In the same year, he composed several of his *Meditations*, in one of which, the secretary informs us, he discussed “the thorny questions of predestination.” And in 1609, he wrote two small treatises with the design of promoting peace amongst christians, the one stating those essential doctrines which ought to be a bond of union to all who embraced them, notwithstanding their differences on points of inferior importance;—the other intended to exhibit the best plan of proceeding, if a council of men of different persuasions should be assembled for religious discussion, with a view to the discovery of truth.

Du Perron's delay in fulfilling his promise of publishing a reply to De Mornay's work on the eucharist, was



the occasion of a pleasantry on the part of the king. Henry had often taunted the bishop with his reluctance to engage in the encounter, and Du Perron one day answered, by way of apology, that he was only waiting for some manuscripts from Rome. The king smiled at this pretence; and soon after, when some labourers employed upon the public works made frivolous excuses for their idleness, he remarked jocosely,—“Ay, ay, I see how it is; you are waiting, like a certain person, for the manuscripts from Rome.”

In the month of May, 1610, Henry the fourth fell by the hand of the assassin Ravaillac; and it is worthy of remark, that the clear-sighted politician De Mornay, contemplating the state of public affairs, had discerned the probability of some attempt being made upon the life of the king. It may be remembered, that Henry was just on the point of conducting an army to his frontier. The intent of this expedition being the topic of conversation between De Mornay and his friend De Licques, a very few days before the king's assassination, the former observed,—“I have been credibly informed that Spain and Italy are making no preparations for opposing the king, and yet we cannot suppose that those people are asleep. It will be a marvel if they do not contrive his death before he reaches the field of action.”

The intelligence, which spread general grief and indignation throughout France, reached De Mornay on the second night after the murder. His wisdom had long before suggested the propriety of being prepared against a sudden vacancy of the throne, and having referred to a paper on which in calmer moments he had marked out the course which he ought to pursue in such an emergency, he speedily took measures to secure the tranquillity of the city and neighbourhood.

Next morning, when the tidings had spread, and the magistrates and chief citizens assembled together in great agitation and perplexity, he briefly addressed them, telling them that it was indeed a great calamity which had befallen

the nation, that he had lost his master, and they their king, whose equal could not be found in the history of many preceding generations; but he reminded them that the kings of France never die; and to prevent the spread of alarm, advised that each should immediately retire to his own home, with as much calmness and composure as was possible under existing circumstances.

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## CHAPTER VII.

HIS EXERTIONS IN BEHALF OF THE PROTESTANTS; PUBLICATIONS; AND MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES.

Such modest sweetness tempered manly sense,  
 When Mornay censured none could take offence;  
 For truth by him in winning forms conveyed  
 Taught but the virtues which his life displayed.  
 His heart still learned the faults of men to bear,  
 While wisdom told him all men had their share,  
 But 'midst surrounding vices ever pure,  
 Nor ease, nor pleasure, could his soul allure.

*Translation of the Henriade.*

It was the misfortune of France, that the heir to the crown was yet in his childhood. Religious feuds, and the ambitious rivalry of powerful nobles, required such an arm as that of the late monarch to preserve the state in tranquillity.

The queen-mother, seeing that she was placed in a situation of difficulty, sought counsel in various quarters; and from De Mornay, amongst others, she obtained advice as to the best means of securing the young king upon the throne, accompanying her application with an assurance that she expected much assistance, at the present juncture, from so wise and influential a counsellor.

As soon as he received the proclamation, which appointed the queen-mother regent of France, he called together the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood, and after administering the customary oath of allegiance

to the officers, clergy, and people, addressed them in a speech in which he sorrowfully deplored the fate of his late royal master, and proceeded to announce his determination of discharging his duty to the youthful king with firmness and vigour. He also besought them to forget the names of Huguenot and Papist, promised to embrace every good Frenchman as a fellow-citizen and brother, without respect to religious distinctions, and declared that, as lovers of the country, their families, and themselves, they ought to cease from such animosities for ever.

It would stretch this memoir far beyond its proper limits and designs, to advert to all the concerns of the state, and of religion, in which De Mornay's advice or services were engaged. The kingdom being agitated by hostile factions during the minority of Louis the thirteenth, it was the heart's desire of the governor of Saumur to act as a loyal subject and a good christian. When his counsels were sought by those in authority, he considered the welfare of his country, and recommended such measures as he deemed likely to promote the general good. Unbiassed by any consideration of private interest, he refused to become an instrument in the hands of any of the contending parties; on the contrary, when the queen endeavoured to tempt him by offers of advancement, he answered that he was resolved not to profit by the public calamities.

The interests of religion continually engaged his thoughts, and as a christian patriot he deprecated the oppression exercised upon the protestants, the disregard of all promises of the further redress of their grievances, and the encroachments made upon former concessions. Against these measures of misrule he boldly remonstrated with the government: at the same time he urged the assemblies of the reformed to restrain their justly irritated feelings, to abstain from acts of violence, and to preserve order and moderation, as far as was practicable.

Popery, however, had become so connected, in his

thoughts, with oppression and incorrigible mischief, that we find him, on one occasion, endeavouring to quicken a spark of chivalry in the breast of our pacific monarch, James the first, by inviting him to take up arms against antichrist, and to stand forth with the weapons of earthly warfare as the champion of the reformed religion. Here this excellent man had evidently fallen into error as to the armour which might legitimately be used in such contests; and James wisely remarked in reply, that while he commended the zeal which dictated the exhortation, he was at a loss to find any authority in Holy Scripture, or in the doctrine or example of the primitive church, for making offensive war for the sake of religion. De Mornay's explanation and excuse would probably have been, that he considered that the conduct pursued towards the protestants of his own and other countries, was of an aggressive nature, and therefore, in fact, was only urging a defensive war, the sole object of which would be liberty of conscience.

Expressions of strong aversion to the power under which those of his persuasion were oppressed, were also contained in the dedication of the Latin edition of his *Mystery of Iniquity*, or *History of the Papacy*, above referred to which was published in the year 1611. This work excited the indignation of the pope, and made considerable stir throughout France.

The French and Latin editions came forth into the world together; and since past experience suggested the probability of their undergoing a severe ordeal, he had previously taken care to submit his treatise to the examination of twenty-four protestant pastors, who signified their opinion that his labours were calculated to be useful to the church of Christ, and urged a speedy publication.

The plates of this ponderous folio were not the least offensive part of the volume. The frontispiece was a device illustrative of his own opinions; it contained an emblematical representation of the downfall of popery. The plate at the close of the volume, was professedly a

copy of the frontispieces of many works which were, about that time, dedicated to the pope by Italian writers. It exhibited in a striking manner the impious flattery paid to Paul the fifth. That pontiff was represented as bearing sway over the four quarters of the globe; and amongst other titles of adulation, that of Vice-God\* was conferred upon him.

This book made a great noise throughout christendom. and was very soon translated into English and Italian. He had foreseen the storm which it provoked, and had accordingly prepared to endure it, leaving the issue to God. While menaces assailed him on the side of the papists, he was blamed by his friends for having thus given the death-blow to his worldly advancement, at a time when it was understood that he was about to be invited to take a prominent part in the public service.

But this conscientious preference of the interests of religion to his own, tended to enhance the estimation in which he was held by the Huguenots; and it is pleasing to observe, that in 1614, a national synod of the church fixed upon him as the fittest person to effect a reconciliation between two eminent divines, Du Moulin and Tilenus, who had for some time been engaged in controversy. His decision was such as must do him honour as a peacemaker. He could discern nothing, he said, which ought to prevent them from owning and embracing each other as brethren, true and orthodox christians. "We have therefore besought them, for the glory of God, the peace of the churches, and the consolation of all members of the same, as well as the repose of their own minds, to renounce their disputes, and to convert the rare and sin-

\* De Mornay, in commenting on this profane title, availed himself of bishop Bedell's ingenious discovery, that the numerical letters of the inscription PAULO V. VICE. DEO. when added together, amount to the number of the Apocalyptic beast. This will be presently noticed more at length in the *Life* of bishop Bedell. The prints above referred to, are described at greater length in Mr. SMEDLEY'S *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii., 103, 4.

gular gifts which they have received from God, as well as their labour and industry, to more fruitful purposes, such as the elucidation of the truth which is obscured by our adversaries, the confutation of error, and the destruction of every doctrine which is opposed to the advancement of the kingdom of God."

The pastors engaged themselves by solemn promises to abandon their contentions, and De Mornay received the cordial thanks of the churches, as represented by their assembled synod at Vitré, for this good service in promoting christian harmony.

In the year 1615, the consideration of the formation of a protestant union throughout Europe was revived by the king of Great Britain. James the first invited Du Moulin to visit England, in order to confer with him on the subject; and that divine at his departure requested De Mornay to make preparations for the important discussion which seemed to be near at hand, and to inquire after such persons as, being distinguished for piety and learning, moderation and industry, might be employed in bringing that measure to a successful issue.

Du Moulin remained for three months in England, and at the end of his conferences the king promised to apprise all protestant princes of the scheme of comprehension; he also recommended that a confession of faith should be compiled from those of all the reformed churches, and sent to request De Mornay to undertake the difficult and important task of composing it. James also wrote expressly to thank him for his past exertions in the cause of protestant truth.

National troubles, however, impeded the progress of the preliminary arrangements, and king James's zeal for this project died away. Not so De Mornay's, with whom this improbable union was a favourite scheme, to which he took frequent opportunities of recalling the attention of his friends, and of the protestant assemblies.

In the same year, he endeavoured to impress upon the protestants the importance of keeping themselves more

aloof from the factious politics of the times. His advice was conveyed through the medium of a memorandum, accompanied by a letter addressed to a member of the synod, to whom he thus declared in what spirit he had written: "By the grace of God I have arrived at a period of life in which I have no fears for myself, except of sin, and in which I may express my opinions freely; the more so, because the uniform tenour of my life secures my conduct from misconstruction, even if any were inclined to have recourse to it." "I know," he says again, "that my advice cannot be pleasing to all, but I shall be satisfied with having obeyed the dictates of my conscience."

The following sentiments, extracted from the above-mentioned memorandum, will doubtless enhance De Mornay in the estimation of christians:—"I presume that this whole company, being assembled in the name of God, and for the good of his churches, take his word as the rule of their deliberations, and come with an honest conscience, cleansed from all passions and private interests." He speaks of "peace, and the repose of the church," as the professed objects of the assembly, and cautions them against being "hurried into extremes," and to remember that "he who purposes to support his cause with mildness, is too often goaded to violence by the adversary's intemperance." After urging many reasons to dissuade them from incurring the charge of being factious and turbulent subjects, he thus proceeds:—"After all, if, while we are adhering to our duty, they purpose to deprive us of our religion, or of anything upon which our liberty or safety depend, those privileges which we gained at the cost of our fathers' blood and our own, and which were granted to us by the great king (Henry IV.), the restorer of France, we shall enter upon this career full of justice and honourable zeal, the hearts and the valour of our ancestors will again live in our bosoms, and we shall be supported in our just defence by all good Frenchmen, assisted by all the princes and states that love either the true religion, or the welfare of this nation; and, to sum

up all, we shall be favoured with the blessing of God, which we have hitherto manifestly experienced in our just arms, which he will prosper to the glory of his name, and to the spiritual and temporal advancement of our churches."

In the autumn of 1615, when the young king, on attaining his fourteenth year, was permitted by the laws to take the government into his own hands, De Mornay wrote to him the following excellent letter, which the young monarch is reported to have read over with attention, and to have returned to again and again:—

Sire,—France abounded with demonstrations of joy at the birth of your majesty; she cannot do less at your coming of age, under which your faithful subjects promise themselves to witness the renovation of this kingdom, its acquisition of fresh vigour, and the recovery of its ancient splendour. It is for this reason, Sire, that I venture to declare to your majesty, by this letter, my own sentiments on the subject, trusting that you will receive them in good part, as offered by one who, throughout his life, has had the honour of following and serving our late illustrious king of immortal memory. And now it is his privilege, in the decline of life, to present himself to your majesty, in the flower of your age; but, Sire, he is conscious of no decline in his duty and faithfulness to your service, on the contrary he rather gains fresh strength every day for the discharge of obligations so sacred. That God may grant your majesty long to possess your sceptre in peace, your sword in victory, and both in justice, that He may prosper this powerful state in your hands, in comfort to your people, in protection to your allies, in terror to your enemies, in promoting the cause of christianity, in affording protection against infidelity, to the solemn exaltation of His holy name, and the perpetual honour of your own;—this, Sire, is the ardent prayer, which I beseech the Almighty to deign to hear.

In 1617, we regret to notice that De Mornay's delight at the liberation of the young king from the thralldom in which he was held by Concini, maréchal d'Ancre, the queen-mother's favourite, appears to have made him



forget the wickedness of the mode in which that bondage was broken. Concini had risen from an humble situation in the queen's household to the summit of power, and Louis, as he grew up towards man's estate, was galled at finding that both he and his kingdom were governed by his mother and her favourite. From this yoke he was resolved to escape. Concini was arrested, and shot in the court of the royal palace. The young monarch being thus released from an evil influence which had promoted the misgovernment of the country, De Mornay wrote to congratulate him upon that important event.

In the same letter, however, he gave Louis some excellent advice as to the manner in which he ought now to hold the reins of government. He counselled him to promote domestic peace, to aim at the character of being the "father of his people," to anticipate their petitions, and to adopt equitable measures with regard to that portion of the community which professed the principles of the reformation.

The king in reply assured De Mornay that he loved, and would equally protect all his subjects, and was resolved to make no distinction except between good and evil conduct. He likewise gave some account of the policy which he proposed to pursue with reference to his protestant subjects, adding these words:—"I have seen fit to relate to you these my intentions, that you may give me your advice thereon, as I desire that you should always do upon all occurrences which may arise."

In the same year, he was a member of the famous assembly of the notables, in which he was a strong advocate for moderation, making the wise remark, that "the besom could never be used roughly without doing some damage." It is but justice to Du Perron, his former adversary, to say that he spoke in the highest praise of De Mornay's conduct in this important assembly, showed him great marks of respect, and declared to the king, that so wise and virtuous a counsellor ought not to be permitted to absent himself from the court.

It was only a year after this that Du Perron, stretched upon his dying bed, charged his friends to declare to De Mornay his sincere regret at not having cultivated his friendship, and to assure him that he held his integrity and purity of conscience in the highest esteem.

While a portion of De Mornay's family had been removed from this earthly tabernacle, and he himself, now in the decline of life, was drawing towards the border of his eternal possession, a new generation was growing up around him to engage his interest, and to enjoy his affection. Some of his grandchildren were brought up in his own house, and all appear to have been the objects of his tender solicitude. In the year 1619, he sent two of them, sons of two of his daughters, on a foreign tour, under the care of a pious and trustworthy tutor\*. The fear of their corruption in religion and morals, especially in Italy, had taken strong hold of his mind, and for this reason he preferred sending them to that classic country at an early age, and under the superintendence of a religious adviser, instead of leaving them to wander there alone at a somewhat later period of life, when they might be a more easy prey to temptation. He sketched out the route of their travels, placed in their hands many valuable letters of introduction, and gave them solemn and affectionate warnings against the prevailing vices of the world, and the evil example and persuasions which might assail them in the countries which they were about to visit.

These youths were caressed wherever they went, out of respect for their grandfather's name. But one of them was to return no more into the bosom of his family. He died at Padua, at the age of sixteen, giving proof, in his last hours, that his early nurture in the fear of the Lord had not been labour in vain.

Warfare, on account of religion, was again to revive in France. The king's favourite, De Luines, supported by the Romish clergy, had formed the project of forcibly ejecting the protestant pastors from their benefices in

\* The eminent and learned John Dailé, or Dallæus.

the reformed state of Bearne, and settling there a popish priesthood, as in former times. Edicts were issued for its accomplishment in 1618, and in the following year the king marched an army into that state, to enforce submission to his decrees. It will readily be supposed that this tyrannical proceeding was highly offensive to the whole body of the Huguenots, who, accounting it a prelude to further aggressions, forwarded to the king a memorial of grievances from their assembly at Loudun, and refused to disperse until their claims should have been considered. After the lapse of some months, however, the assembly adjourned, with a distinct understanding that they might re-assemble, without applying for fresh permission according to the usual custom. Half a year passed away without any steps being taken for their relief, (on the contrary, they suffered fresh invasions of their acknowledged privileges,) they therefore met again at Rochelle, and there assumed a more determined attitude. They remonstrated against the continual violation of their rights, the unabated pressure of their grievances, and the spoliation of the property of their church in Bearne.

It soon became evident that the Huguenots preferred war to the continuance of their bondage, and that the king and the popish party were anxious for the commencement of hostilities.

At this time De Mornay attempted in vain to pacify the martial spirit of his protestant brethren, as well as to exhibit to the royal party the impolicy of the impending contest. In the early part of the year 1620, when the rumour of war resounded through the kingdom, and popish preachers were "blowing their trumpets of sedition," as he expresses it, in every city, he wrote a letter of remonstrance to the duke of Montbazon, an influential personage at court.

"You know, sir," he said in this letter, "what manner of person I have been under the predecessors of our present king, an instrument of peace, by the grace of

God, in the most hopeless times. You also know what I have been under the now reigning monarch,—an example of fidelity amidst all the changes that have occurred, and tried by every kind of temptation. This makes me address you the more freely, that I may induce you to trace out in the past, that which men have no wish for you to perceive,—to exhibit to you in the root, what it will be too late to discover and judge of by the produce.”

He then referred to the severe and unjust treatment of the protestants during a period of thirty-five years, and reminded the duke that whatever advantages their oppressors had expected or gained, in the frequent wars undertaken for their destruction, they had always emerged from their troubles with an increase of numbers. “From the Pyrenees and the Alps, they have spread themselves far and wide throughout the kingdom, and the more they have been agitated by the storm, the more firmly have they taken root. And he who will carefully examine our present state of affairs, or the character of those who are now to be called into action, will not anticipate a better issue. On the contrary, he will expect more dangerous consequences, in proportion to the probability of their taking counsel from despair, when they discern that they can never be suffered to rest,—that no services, no proofs of fidelity, after so many years’ trial, can render their condition or that of their posterity peaceable and secure.” . . . . .

“Believe me,” he concludes, “and may God avert the fulfilment of the prediction, that if you allow yourselves to roll down this precipice, I discern not merely the decline, but the fall and destruction of this poor kingdom; and it is much to be feared that those who have power to stay it on the brink, will be the first to repent if they make no such effort, and will find themselves not less accountable than guilty. I venture thus to explain myself to you, sir, and I do it with my heart on my lips. Whatever may happen, I shall never cease to be anxious

that our churches may exist in well-being and repose, under the edicts of the king, being myself at the same time a most faithful servant of his majesty, even to the grave, and particularly desirous of being worthy of the continuance of your favour."

During the years which have supplied the contents of this chapter, he published several discourses on religious subjects, and some small treatises on the state of public affairs, and the interests of the protestants in France.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

REMOVAL FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF SAUMUR; LAST HOURS;  
DEATH AND CHARACTER.

Oh, who, that saw thy parting hour,  
Could wish thee here again?

Triumphant in thy closing eye  
The hope of glory shone;

Joy breathed in thine expiring sigh

To think the fight was won.—REV. T. DALE.

THE warlike preparations having being completed, the king's first step was to strip De Mornay, by a most perfidious stratagem, of the scanty honours which he had acquired in the public service.

The town of Saumur was situated between the seat of government and the disturbed provinces, and was the most important pass on the river Loire. Louis desirous of obtaining possession of that place, was not scrupulous about the means of effecting his purpose. He therefore wrote to De Mornay, signifying his intention of residing for a short time in the castle, but assuring him that he had no thought of infringing any of its privileges as a cautionary town\*. Relying on the word of a prince, he

\* Saumur and some other towns were ceded by the king of France to his protestant subjects, to be garrisoned by them, as pledges for the observance of the edicts of toleration.

resigned his apartments to the king, who speedily informed him that he had appointed one of his own officers to act as governor for three months, at the same time engaging, by the most solemn promises, to restore De Mornay at the termination of that period. These promises, however, were not only disregarded when the appointed time arrived, but were never fulfilled, notwithstanding strong and repeated remonstrances on the part of the ejected and injured governor.

It was no small addition to his grief to learn that his property in the castle was not respected, that his library was plundered, his cabinet broken open, his papers seized and searched for matter of accusation against him, and that some choice copies of his works, enriched with copious marginal notes, were robbed of their silver clasps, and several of them wantonly thrown into the moat of the castle.

Another cause of distress was the unmerited suspicion under which he laboured amongst the reformed, of having been induced by a bribe to abandon his trust at so critical a moment; and it was not till after his death that it was universally acknowledged, that instead of having been biassed by any sordid considerations, he had in truth been impoverished by large contributions, cheerfully advanced for the public service.

De Mornay, as soon as he was displaced from his government, retired to his private residence of La Forêt-sur-Sèvre, carrying with him most gratifying assurances of the affection of the pastor, professors, and protestant community of Saumur. There he resigned himself to the disposal of that God whom he loved and served, and employed himself in promoting the happiness, and alleviating the miseries, of his fellow-creatures. His daughters hastened to console him with their tenderness, and were themselves comforted by witnessing the temper with which he endured the dishonour undeservedly laid upon him in his old age.

Even there the spirit of malevolence assailed him; and

to an attempt which was made to darken his character, by charges of secretly carrying on political intrigues, we owe the following pleasing account of his manner of life in retirement, at the age of threescore years and ten.

I live in this my house with gates and windows open, in the midst of a number of artisans of all sorts, who see me at all times, from morning to night. Once a week I have service here, as well for my family as my neighbours, who are, for the most part, poor peasants, possessed of no other arms than their prayers and psalms. Other assembly I know not; and God is my witness that I am visited indiscriminately by my neighbours of both religions, by catholics even more than the others, since they are most numerous in these parts. And I cannot believe that any persons have occasion to take umbrage at this, in a person of my rank, and still less that it could be the intention of his majesty that my house should be converted into a place of banishment or a prison for me, since he does me the honour, notwithstanding this temporary change, to grant me permission, if I think fit, to live in the castle of Saumur, with the title and distinctions of governor. My sons-in-law pass the greater part of their time with me, all of whom have the merit of never having hesitated to serve his majesty, but each, in his sphere, has always endeavoured to give proof of his loyalty; particularly, my son De Villarnoul has never for a moment deviated from that service. And I do not think that their fidelity can require a more decided testimony than the fact of their being much with me. Some respectable people of Saumur, even his majesty's officers, have come to see me, to make amends for my absence. Nor has this occurred without due information being given to M. d'Aiguebonne, who knows them to be peaceable subjects, and assures me that he has no wish to refuse their showing me this token of kindness. True it is that I have in this place half of the garrison which it pleased his majesty to maintain for me at Saumur, but they live quietly, and none of them can have so much occasion for complaint as myself, because they are thrown upon my hands, owing to the delay of their allowances. I know not whether any are disposed to allege against me, that Madame de la Tremouille did me the honour to come and see me about two months ago; but this injustice would come home to me as well as to her;

for it is well known that many close ties attach me to her family, and, provided that our duty to his majesty is unimpaired, he could not be displeased with his servants for observing natural and social obligations. M. de Seaus can easily declare whether our communications were profitable or injurious. In general, with regard to the visits of all others, it is surely more probable, when you consider my age and long experience, that they should gain something by intercourse with me, than that I should be corrupted by them. . . . If this is not sufficiently satisfactory, (he says presently after,) I most humbly entreat his majesty to send a commissioner to make inquiries in these parts, where he will find all the air around perfumed by my faithful carriage and salutary maxims; he will discover the fruit which they have produced in many persons, who had before become desperate through the fears which were instilled into them; and the deeper his investigation, the more completely will he discover the integrity of my conduct, the moderation of my words, and the purity of my intentions; and to the full extent of my ability I will assist his most scrutinizing search. But thus, also, the greater iniquity will he detect in those who are willing either to credit or propagate such rumours, and the greater dishonour in those who are the first to give them publicity; for whom, nevertheless, I desire no other punishment than that it may please his majesty and those in authority to note these slanderers against another time; and perchance he will find in their former conduct, if well examined and compared with mine, something which may cast discredit upon their testimony.

For several months before his death he was in a declining state of health, during which he derived great consolation from the kind offices of several neighbouring pastors, who visited him from time to time, and preached in a little chapel which he had attached to his house.

The day of his deliverance was in the month of November, 1623, and the edifying occurrences of the latter days of his life have been minutely described by the pastor who attended to administer divine consolation. Although the scene is in some measure tinged with the peculiar cast of doctrine maintained in the French and Swiss churches,



the exalted piety and deep humility which shine forth in the last hours of De Mornay, are enough to soften any prejudice which those peculiarities might excite in minds imbued with different notions of divine truth. May spiritual blessings be imparted to the reader, while he stands beside the death-bed of this aged believer!

To relieve himself from all anxiety about worldly things, he made a final disposal of his property by dictating a codicil to his will on the 24th of October.

In this codicil, after referring to his former will, and to the death of his wife, which gave occasion for a fresh disposal of some portions of his property, he employs the following language to express his devout thoughts and desires:—

I praise and adore my God for his mercy by Jesus Christ, his Son, my Redeemer, that He has given me grace to continue and persevere to this advanced period of life, in the profession of his holy gospel; that he has still deigned to employ me, a miserable sinner, in promoting it according to my abilities; that during these difficult times, He has guarded me from many dangers and troubles, and has made me feel his spiritual and temporal blessings more and more; which favours I acknowledge to be the fruit of his grace alone, not pretending that anything has proceeded from myself, except only provocations of his anger. I beseech Him, by the same grace, to enable me to persevere in the faith of his Son, and in his fear, to my latest breath, and cheerfully to shed my blood to seal the profession of his holy truth, if I should be required so to do, for his glory and the edification of his church.

I adjure my sons-in-law and my daughters, in the name of God, and for their own salvation, to perpetuate the ministry of the holy gospel in their houses, to the utmost of their power, and to establish the fear of God and the profession of his truth in their families and descendants, by careful nurture. In this hope and assurance, I give them my blessing, and entreat the Creator, with all my heart, to vouchsafe to bless and ratify the same, by his most holy benediction.

And because the condition of this kingdom has been, for several years, and still is, such as to be liable to various changes, according as the passions and interests of the great

may influence the minds of the people by various pretences, and draw them over to different factions, very often beyond the bounds of duty and conscience,—I exhort my said sons-in-law, and their children who are of age, not to allow themselves to be engaged in such proceedings, but to live in obedience to the king and the laws of their country, so long as it is his pleasure to preserve our churches in liberty and security, under favour of his edicts: for the preservation of which, however, in case of oppression, they shall despise property, life, and worldly honours, assured that he who trusts in God shall never be confounded.

After stating his bequests to his family, friends, and servants, as well as to the church and the poor, he concludes in the following strain:—

I earnestly charge my sons-in-law, daughters, and grandchildren, to be examples to the world of a good and christian conversation, and of brotherly affection and concord; and to my dear daughters, particularly, I would recall the memory of their mother, who, having rendered me great assistance in living like a christian, has left me and them an example how to die like a christian.

And now, having reached the age of seventy-four years, I commit myself into the hands of my God, waiting for my hour, which will be that which seems most pleasing to Himself; and I beseech Him to complete the work of his mercy in me, his poor creature, by taking me to Himself, to enjoy the life of blessedness which is purchased for us by the alone blood of his Son, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory for ever; Amen.

This codicil was signed on the 3rd of November; and when he had accomplished this last earthly duty, he exclaimed, “Lo, I am set free from one of my greatest cares; it only now remains for me to die!”

Next day he took to his bed; and on Thursday, the 9th of that month, the physicians informed his friends that, humanly speaking, there was no hope of his recovery. He survived two days after this, during which, his mind retaining its accustomed vigour, and his body being exempt from pain, he calmly awaited his change in holy

meditation, sustained by firm faith in his Redeemer, and a lively hope of approaching glory.

On Thursday, Madame de Villarnoul, his eldest daughter, came in the morning to his bedside, and after inquiring about his health, stood in silence. He then told her that he was anxious for religious conversation. His friends immediately sent for his household chaplain, M. Daillé, and requested him to communicate to the sick man that his days were numbered. The tidings were listened to with great composure: "Ay, is it so?" he remarked; "I am quite content, and in the first place pardon with all my heart every one who has injured me, or been the cause of troubling me; and I beseech God to forgive and amend them." The pastor praised God when he heard these expressions of christian charity, and next requested that as he had edified the church by his life, so now in his last hours he would instruct and comfort those who stood around him.

It was a painful effort to him to speak, but he was anxious to comply with this desire, even though it might be in a very few words. He therefore began a confession of his faith; but finding himself unable to proceed, he raised himself in his chair, and said to the pastor, "I have a great account to render, having received much, and having improved little." Some one answered that by the grace of God he had faithfully and happily employed the talent intrusted to him, having served the church with much profit, and advanced the kingdom of Christ. "Alas," he exclaimed, "what was there of mine in that work? say not that it was I, but God by me!" This sentiment he repeated afterwards, upon like occasions, adopting at one time the language of St. Paul, (1 Cor., xv. 10,) *I laboured, . . . yet not I, but the grace of God which was in me.*

Afterwards, being laid upon his bed, he observed, "There is nothing more just and reasonable than that the creature should submit to his Creator." Then raising his hands, he thrice exclaimed, "Mercy!" adding that he did

this to show his friends that it was the alone mercy of God in which he took refuge, and which ought to be their refuge also ; that he had heretofore desired to live, in the hope that he might behold the deliverance of the church, but since the world would not repent, he had no desire to remain in it longer.

Then, with a calm expression of countenance, and with a firm and grave voice, the aged patriarch proceeded to pronounce a benediction upon his family, his friends, and the church. He first gave his blessing to his daughters, then to his sons-in-law, and all their posterity, imploring God to keep their hearts in peace ; and next he blessed the physician who attended him, thanking him for his kindness and assiduity, also his household servants, and particularly the pastor who was present to console him in his last hours, praying God to bless the ministry of his Holy Word in his hands.

He then pronounced his benediction upon the church at Saumur, and its pastor, expressing his desire that the latter might be borne safely through the afflictions which at that time encompassed him. He also remembered the church nearest to his present residence, "in which," said he, "there are many good people, well affected towards the word of God." And last of all, he prayed for the whole church, that God would work its deliverance, relieve it from oppression, and restore it to a prosperous condition.

After this he made a solemn declaration that from his earliest days he had proposed the Glory of God as his chief end and aim ; adding that those who knew him best were well aware that by another path he might easily have attained great riches and honours.

The pastor took this opportunity of inquiring whether his religious views had undergone any material change. He answered that he continued stedfast in the faith wherein he had lived, which also by the grace of God he had defended by his example, conversation, and writings, —that if he had to begin life again, it would be his desire

to walk in the same path that he had already followed, by persevering in the gospel, notwithstanding the reproach which he had experienced in consequence of his religious profession. His faith, he said, rested solely upon the goodness and mercy of God, in Jesus Christ, whom the Father had made to him, and to all believers, wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption.

“And your works, sir,” said the pastor, “do you not attribute any merit to them?”

“Away,” he answered, “away with all merit, either in me, or in any other man whatsoever! I call for nothing but mercy,—free mercy!”

The pastor then declared to him, in the name of Jesus Christ, the remission of his sins, and the inheritance of life eternal, belonging to all those who believe in the Son of God,—saying that he did it by virtue of his office, and in discharge of his duty, and not from any doubt that the dying man felt in his heart the grace of God, and had full assurance of his mercy. “Thank you,” was the reply, “I accept your words as an earnest of the goodness of God towards me!”

M. de Villarnoul expressed his gratitude to God for having permitted his father-in-law to enjoy, at the last, a privilege which he had often desired in past years, that of being able to utter the inmost thoughts of his heart before his departure. “I feel, my son,” he answered, “I feel what I speak!”

The pastor asked if he was willing for them to supplicate God to strengthen him more and more, and likewise to raise him up again, to be an instrument of the divine glory. “Beseech God,” he said, “to dispose of me.” It being answered that all hope had not failed, and that God was even able to raise the dead, he replied, “I am not an enemy to life, but I have in prospect a far better state of existence!” Presently after, madame de Villarnoul said to him, that she hoped God would restore him at the instance of their prayers; “My daughter,” he answered, “God will do what seemeth good to Him! I await his pleasure!”

After this they prayed for him. He clasped his hands, and lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and it was evident that his heart was engaged in fervent devotion. Prayer being ended, he expressed a desire to hear the seventy-first psalm, and afterwards requested them to read to him the meditation which he had formerly published on 2 Tim. iv. 7. *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing;*—and that on the Psalmist's words, (LV. 22.) *Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and He shall sustain thee; He shall never suffer the righteous to be moved.* He listened with great attention, testified that he took infinite pleasure in the reflections thus revived in his mind, and that he applied them to the benefit of his soul.

His friends, having thus joined with him in pious conversation and devotional exercises for about three hours, left him for a while to repose; but he employed the interval in silent reflection and prayer, only interrupted occasionally by ejaculations, uttered in the fulness of his heart.

In the afternoon the pastor addressed him in a discourse upon a blessed immortality, and when he remarked that here below we have only the right and title to it, the possession being reserved for us in heaven, De Mornay himself quoted the appropriate passage of St. John, (1 Ep. iii. 2.) *Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him.* This led to some observations on the resurrection, and he desired to hear the fifteenth chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Just at the conclusion of this reading, his daughter, madame de Tabarrière, arrived to bid farewell to her excellent parent. He expressed great satisfaction at seeing her, said that she had contributed much to his consola-

tion, and after inquiring about her children, pronounced his blessing upon her. He then exhorted his whole assembled family to union and brotherly love, beseeching them to possess in peace the inheritance which he should leave them, and to shun litigation. When they solemnly promised to obey his injunctions, he declared that now he had nothing more to desire, since he could die with the assurance of leaving peace in his family. Thinking that he might be weary, they were about to leave the apartment, to give him time to repose, when he called his daughters to his bedside, took them by the hand, and once more exhorted them, in a most touching manner, to continue in the fear of God, and to live in concord and affection towards each other.

When a short space for rest had elapsed, the pastor resumed their religious conversation. He said that his dying friend had now no enemies to fear, neither sin, nor death, nor the devil, nor the world, since all were discomfited by the Lord Jesus. The aged christian listened with delight to the pastor's sentiments, and expressed his concurrence. Of *sin* he said that its penalties are abolished by Christ for those that believe in Him. Of *death* he remarked, that dreadful as it is to those who are not in Christ, it has no terrors for those who die in the Lord, on whose cross it was disarmed. As touching the *world*, when the pastor reminded him, how God had strengthened him against its temptations, and accompanied him in all his ways up to the present hour, thus giving to him an earnest of eternal love, he raised his eyes towards heaven, and exclaimed, "Thy gifts and calling, O God, are without repentance!"—(Rom. xi. 29.) And when it was remarked that the world, to deceive the faithful, sometimes threatens, and sometimes flatters them, "These," he said, "are the subtilties of Satan." The pastor proceeded to state that the calumnies of the *devil* have no power against the children of Christ, they being justified and sanctified by faith in Him. De Mornay immediately cried out, in the words of St. Paul, (Rom. viii. 33,) *Who*

*shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect; it is God that justifieth;* declaring further, that he felt assured of having an interest in the promises of God, so that *neither life, nor death, nor things present, nor things to come,* (Rom. viii. 38,) should ever be able to separate him from the love of his Saviour. This persuasion he repeated again and again.

In the evening they discoursed upon the vanity of the world. "What is the world?" he asked, "*its fashion passeth away.*"—(1 Cor. vii. 31.) Presently after, he quoted in Greek some words of Pindar, which speak of man as being a dream of a shadow\*.

He also insisted much upon the duty of confessing his sins; declared that he was indeed a miserable sinner; condemned himself as one of the greatest sinners in the world; confessed that there were in him the seeds of every kind of evil; but added that, for Christ's sake, he should obtain mercy. He then, with much feeling, requested the pastor to speak of the death and sufferings of Christ; which being complied with, they closed their communications for that night with devout prayer to God, at the end of which, he pronounced these words, "Amen! through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whom all the promises of God are yea, and amen."—(2 Cor. i. 20.)

On Friday morning, Nov. 10, when his friends approached his bed to hear his edifying and comfortable words, he offered up a prayer in Latin, to this effect: "O, Lord, open Thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise. Lord, grant me to know my sins, to lament them, to detest and abhor them." The pastor took occasion to speak of the remission of his sins, and the comfort which flows from it, as connected with the hope of immortality; and expressed his opinion that it is impossible that those who are in Christ, though feeble, dejected, and destitute, should yet ever fall from life, the power of the Lord perfecting itself in the midst of their infirmities, so that the inward man is strengthened, as

\* Σκιάς ὄναρ ἀνθρώπου.



their outward man grows weaker. In confirmation of his argument, he cited 2 Cor. iv. 15, to chapter v., verse 22, laying particular emphasis upon these words: *We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.*

The pastor having thus spoken, inquired of De Mornay whether such was not his faith? whether he had not this assurance of an eternal weight of glory? He answered that he was entirely persuaded of it by the demonstration of the Holy Spirit, which was to him more powerful, more clear, and more certain, than all the demonstrations of Euclid. He said also that, like Simeon, he had *seen the salvation of God*, and could adopt his petition, *Lord, now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace*; and many times he repeated the saying of the Psalmist, *I believed, and therefore have I spoken*; connecting all his confidence with his faith.

In these and other passages he quoted the Greek, whenever the original word seemed to convey the sense with greater force, thus showing that the word of God had been his familiar study in this house of his pilgrimage.

In the afternoon he was heard praying alone, and saying, with broken utterance, "I fly, I fly to heaven: the angels carry me to my Saviour's bosom."

The pastor afterwards approached his bed, and, willing to confirm and strengthen him more and more, reminded him of the past favour and protection of God, who had borne him through so many temptations with a peculiar care, and carried him as an eagle carries her young. De Mornay repeated, in Latin, this thought of the eagle's affection for her brood, and presently after exclaimed, *Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place (or refuge) in all generations.*—(Ps. xc. 1.)

The pastor proceeded to observe, that as the goodness and mercy of God towards us was from eternity, so it would endure for ever. The dying man answered, "*I know that my Redeemer liveth*; I shall see Him with these eyes,—with these very eyes."

The pastor spöke next of the resurrection of the body. "Our mortal flesh," he said, "turns into dust; but this fact ought not to weaken our hope, for God, into whose hands we resign it, is powerful and faithful to preserve that trust; He suffers us to turn, as it were, into nothing, to raise us up again more gloriously,—taking pleasure in magnifying his strength in our weakness. This you have often experienced during your life; you still perceive it in your death, in which, by the Lord's assistance, you triumph over all your enemies, although brought very low as concerning the flesh." De Mornay gave the glory to Him to whom it was due:—*We can do all things*, he said, *through Christ which strengtheneth us.*

From that time he continually grew weaker. Towards evening, he could not pronounce whole sentences, but communicated his thoughts and wishes by detached words. His friends, being anxious to receive his testimony that he continued stedfast to the end, asked him whether he did not feel in the bottom of his soul the consolation of the Holy Spirit, sealing the promises? He answered, after a contented manner, and even with an air of cheerfulness, "Yes, indeed;" and again, "I am assured of it;" and a little after, with an effort, "The love of God is in my heart."

Whenever the pastor inquired how he found himself, he replied that he was "well, very well."

Thus, in the midst of these blessed thoughts, he entered into possession of a better life, leaving, by little and little, this earthly existence. About midnight his speech entirely failed; his hearing two hours after; and, between six and seven o'clock in the morning, his spirit returned to God who gave it.

The character of this great and good man, as exhibited in his copious memoirs, correspondence\*, despatches, and

\* He corresponded with Father Paul, Diodati, Theodore Beza, and many other eminent divines. We also find numerous letters to and from sir Francis Walsingham and sir H. Wotton, as well as the most distinguished men of the times in his own country.

works, will bear the strictest scrutiny; and many a valuable lesson may be learned by an attentive study and examination of it. It would then be more fully seen, that as he possessed many high and noble qualities, infused into his nature by the creative hand of God, and many excellent attainments acquired by well-directed industry, so also his whole life was regulated and adorned by a pervading principle of genuine religion and ardent piety.

He was an affectionate son, husband, and father, a sincere and active friend, a brave soldier, a wise and honest statesman, an accomplished scholar, an able and eloquent writer. He was scrupulously moral and virtuous, of an unbending integrity, manly and open in the avowal of his sentiments, humane, disinterested, and generous. As the confidential adviser of a great monarch, he did not shrink from remonstrating with his sovereign, although privately and respectfully, against those blemishes in his conduct which might alienate the affections of his people, and provoke the displeasure of God. And as the anxious and unwearied friend of the injured and persecuted protestants, he endeavoured, by his moderate counsels, to restrain their just indignation from breaking forth into violent and disorderly courses, while he boldly rebuked the tyranny and cruelty of their oppressors.

When the world offered him its bribes, to induce him to forsake the reviled and persecuted faith which he had chosen, and promised not only to exchange its bitter words and frowning looks for kindness and flattery, but likewise to gratify his ambition by bestowing a large measure of its honours and rewards, he stood up like a christian to spurn the temptation, and gave fresh and more decided pledges of his attachment to the faith, by his public conduct and his writings. According to his own manner of speech, he could not treat his religion like a garment, which might be assumed or thrown off at pleasure; but he had weighed well its principles again and again, in the balance of the word of God; his conviction of their truth and importance gained strength as he pro-

ceeded in his inquiries; and he felt himself bound, by the most sacred obligations of conscience, to adhere to that reformed faith, in the profession and practical exhibition of which, alone, he believed that he could enjoy in this life the blessing of peace, or secure the eternal salvation of his soul.

May his name be for ever held in honourable remembrance in the church of Christ! And may those who have now contemplated his life, as portrayed in these pages, be induced to consider whether their own religious principles are as deeply implanted, and the fruits of them as rich and abundant; and whether they are cultivating them in the manner pursued by this pious layman, by fervent prayer to God, and a constant and devout study of His Holy Word!

The French editor of De Mornay's correspondence and other papers, speaks of them in the following terms:—

Here you will discover the model of an accomplished statesman, prudently foreseeing and providing against the future, making a wise use of the present, and turning the past to valuable account. Prompt and decided in his deliberations, open and frank in his counsels, skilful and faithful in his negotiations, he possessed in a singular degree what is not often to be met with, an exquisite judgment, not only as a natural quality of his mind, but refined by long practice in the most important and difficult affairs. He had an accurate and most extensive knowledge, gained both by experience, and (which is uncommon in a man so employed,) by profound study. His mind was quick in discerning difficulties, and not less successful in unravelling them. He manifested an inimitable facility of expressing his sentiments, and throughout was guided by a good conscience, which, amidst so many vexations and hazardous junctures, never swerved from its great objects, the service of God and of his king. He loved his religion; his devotion to it was pure and innocent, and he was anxious to preserve it without doing injury or prejudice to any other, having none of that furious zeal which rushes headlong without consideration, and in order to gain its own ends, strikes against and overthrows every right, human and divine.

THE LIFE  
OF  
BISHOP BEDELL,  
1570—1642.

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CHAPTER I.

EARLY MINISTRY—RESIDENCE ABROAD—SETTLEMENT AT  
HORINGSHEATH.

We need not bid, for cloister'd cell,  
Our neighbours and our work farewell,  
Nor strive to wind ourselves too high,  
For sinful man beneath the sky:

The trivial round, the common task,  
Will furnish all we ought to ask;  
Room to deny ourselves—a road  
To bring us daily nearer God.—*Christian Year.*

THE christian community at large owes a great debt of gratitude to the recorded examples of its purest and holiest members. Individually exhibiting the beauty and excellence of the gospel-principles by which they are governed, and collectively embodying a living and substantial representation of that fulness of stature to which a disciple of Christ may attain, they grow into an exhaustless treasury of motives and inducements to holy living, and of models of christian deportment, which diffuses its riches over the church, and counteracts the persevering endeavours of the world to debase the standard of christian faith and holiness.

To such sources, blessed by the fertilizing influences

of that Holy Spirit which works in us to will and to do, many have owned their first religious impressions, many more have been advanced and strengthened in the way of peace; and while the church lasts, and the stores of christian example increase, still more extensive and salutary effects may be expected to flow from the lives of the servants of God.

There each member of the church, alike the pastor and the flock, may contemplate a variety of bright and shining patterns of active piety and devoted love of God; he may behold after what manner the worthiest of his kindred men have adorned the gospel by their holy living. He may calmly and profitably examine the trials and temptations they endured, the armour with which they were provided, the victories they gained, and their last great triumph as more than conquerors. He may learn a lesson scarcely less instructive from the records of their weaknesses, deficiencies, and falls, which, like buoys floating over perilous shoals in the ocean, give warning of the course in which danger is to be apprehended. And by the whole survey of their characters, he may be excited to renewed diligence and watchfulness, and stimulated to grow in the christian graces of faith, hope, and charity.

There the pastor may discern the solemn views of ministerial obligation, which have been entertained by holy men bound by the same vows to watch for souls, and the conscientious manner in which they have executed the trust committed to them. He may be present at their studies and their prayers, observe the workings of their plans of usefulness, and sympathize in their successes and disappointments, their trials and consolations. And thus the flame that glowed within them may kindle a spark in his own heart, and impel him to greater labour and prayer, in feeding his Master's flock, in hedging them about against the assaults of evil, and in preparing to deliver up the sheep intrusted to his care, as his joy and crown of rejoicing, in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming.

And there the christian bishop may trace the footsteps of those who, from the primitive times downwards, have most magnified their apostolic office by their manner of discharging its duties; who have given special *attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine*; who have been examples of *the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity*; who have *taken care of the church of God, as stewards for Him\**; labouring to render their function instrumental, in the highest degree, to the spiritual efficiency of the church, of which they are the responsible overseers.

Each of these classes may gather much valuable instruction from the life of William Bedell, a devout servant of Christ, a zealous minister, and a vigilant bishop of his church. The whole body of believers may learn the practical excellence of deep-seated religious principle; the pastor may be led to take a solemn estimate of his responsible charge, and the bishop may be encouraged to superintend the church to the glory of the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls†.

\* 1 Tim. iii. 5; iv. 12, 13. Titus, i. 7.

† Authorities.—1. A *MS. Life of Bishop Bedell*, contained amongst the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. 4to.

2. BURNET'S *Life of Bishop Bedell*; and a few manuscript additions by Mr. Lewis, (author of the *Life of Wickliffe, &c.*) and Dr. Birch, in the copy belonging to the British Museum.

3. A *Character of Bishop Bedell*, (12mo. 1659,) by Dr. Nicholas Bernard, who was sometime Dean of Kilmore.

The author of the manuscript life states, that he was intimately acquainted with the bishop during the five latter years of his life, and thus describes his motive for writing the memoir. "That so precious a jewel may not lie hid and smothered in the rubbish of oblivion, whose sacred name is embalmed with precious ointment of the best composition, I shall endeavour to declare and make known what I have heard of him, by those I had good reason to believe, what I heard from himself, and what I myself observed in my abode with him all that space."

The memoir from which the above paragraph is quoted, is probably the very MS. from which Bishop Burnet composed the life of Bishop Bedell; for (1.) the writer appears to identify himself with "A. C., the minister of Cavan," and Burnet's authority

William Bedell was born at Black-Notley, in Essex, (the birth-place also of Ray, the natural philosopher,) in the year 1570. He sprang from an ancient and respectable family, from which a good estate came into the possession of the bishop's son, his elder brother dying without issue. Having received a classical education at school, he was sent to Emmanuel college, Cambridge, where he was placed under the care of Dr. Chadderton, the head of that society, and an eminent person in his day. There he was so much respected for his learning and piety, that he was often appealed to in the disputes and controversies which unhappily agitated the university.

He was ordained by Dr. Stern, the suffragan (or assistant) bishop of Colchester, an office which soon after became extinct, but which, while it lasted, possessed a delegated power of conferring holy orders. In 1593, he was chosen fellow of the college; and in 1599, took the degree of bachelor of divinity, in which year also

was Mr. Clogy, whom he describes as "minister of Cavan." (2.) Both the author of the MS. and Mr. Clogy, resided in the bishop's house for several years. (3.) There is a great similarity of expression, reflection, and arrangement in the two accounts. (4.) The writer of the MS. speaks of himself as being the companion of the bishop and his two sons, on an occasion in the latter part of his life, when Burnet describes the party as consisting of the bishop, his two sons, and Mr. Clogy.

The following is bishop Burnet's description of the materials from which he wrote:—"I had a great collection of memorials put into my hands by a worthy and learned divine, Mr. Clogy, who, as he lived long in this bishop's house, so being afterward minister at Cavan, had occasion to know him well . . . . I confess, my part in this was so small, that I can scarce assume anything to myself but the copying out what was put in my hands."

Whether Burnet possessed this manuscript or not, there is a great similarity between the order and arrangement, and often the form of expression in both. At the same time the MS. contains many valuable and characteristic touches, of which Burnet has made no use, and which are introduced into the present memoir.

It is believed that no portrait of Bishop Bedell is in existence.



bishop Hall and Dr. Ward, both members of Emmanuel college, were admitted to the same degree. They were his friends and correspondents to the end of his days.

Mr. Lewis states, that whilst Mr. Bedell continued to reside at Cambridge, "he, with Mr. Abdias Ashton, of St. John's, Mr. Thomas Gataker, of Sidney Sussex college, and formerly of St. John's, and some others, set on foot a design of preaching in places adjacent to the university, where there were no pastors able to teach and lead the people in the ways of truth, peace, and life."

From the university he removed to the town of Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, where he first engaged in the duties of the pastoral care, which he discharged "with great approbation and applause," says A. C., "and blessed fruits of his ministry." He continued there for many years, and was remarkable for his simple and distinct manner of preaching. It was his usual practice, after explaining the text, and adducing parallel passages, to carry home the subject to the consciences of his congregation, by a serious and impressive application.

Not long after his settlement at Bury, an incident occurred which showed that he neither courted preferment nor feared unmerited displeasure. At a meeting of the clergy of the diocese of Norwich, the bishop made some proposition to which Mr. Bedell could not conscientiously assent. The rest of the clergy entertained the like objections, but were unwilling to express their sentiments. Thinking, therefore, that the matters in question, were too important to be silently adopted, he ventured to address the bishop, and stated his opinions with so much force of argument, and at the same time calmness of temper, that some of the obnoxious measures were withdrawn. When the meeting was over, the clergy gathered round him, and applauded the steps which he had taken; but he only assured them in reply, that "he desired not the praises of men."

To this part of his life belongs the only specimen of his poetical compositions, which has survived to the present

time. It is entitled *A Protestant Memorial of the Shepherd's Tale of the Powder-Plott, a Poem in Spenser's style*. A. C. informs us, that it was written at the time of the Gunpowder Treason, and that the bishop constantly read it to his family, on the 5th of November, after supper. It was not published until many years after his death, and gives him little claim to the designation of a poet; but as copies are rarely to be met with, the reader may not be satisfied without having an opportunity of perusing two or three of the best passages.

He thus recognises an Almighty arm, as having dispersed the Spanish Armada in the preceding reign:—

But sooth to say, God's pow'r was all in all,  
 And not device of man that wrought the feat;  
 The winds and seas He to our help did call,  
 And with a frowning look from that high seat,  
 Whence all He sees, He quell'd their boist'rous threat;  
 Then yearly did we shepherds dance, and pipe, and play,  
 And yearly still I keep it holiday.

Now thank'd be God, and good king Jemmy's reign,  
 All wars be done, I hope, for many years;  
 The golden age, I ween, returns again,  
 That shall the plowshares lay with steely spears;  
 And smithy swords to sickles. Who that hears  
 Great Britain's mighty well-renowned name,  
 But needs might quake and tremble at the same?

The search which was made under the parliament house, and which ended in the discovery of Guy Fawkes and his companions, gives him occasion to introduce the following description of night:—

The night came, and with dewy veil  
 This lower world did overhale\*  
 Her shady mantle, that cover'd all  
 Those bright starry eyes celestial.  
 Nought could the blushing cheeks now accuse  
 The guilty mind, that cieles† do them chuse,  
 That musen mischief; ill deeds shun the light.

\* Spread over.

† Probably, conceal.

O vainest hope, who can blind the sight  
 Of his own conscience, or think to fly  
 God's all-where-present, all-seeing eye?  
 Men see sometimes when we least surmise  
 And sooth is said, stones and trees have eyes,  
 To spy the man that doth aught amiss.

He illustrates the design of the conspirators, and the deliverance of the king and parliament, by the following comparison:—

As when the unwary fish, with wanton bit,  
 Swallows the pleasing bate, and under it,  
 The harmful hook, she triumphs in her prey,  
 And weens it won, and thinks to go her way.  
 The watchful fisher has his time espied,  
 And strikes her sure, and bids her soft abide;  
 With wounded jaws, tho' loth, she must obey:  
 Such now is Satan's self,—and such are they,  
 His instruments of this same villainy,  
 We render thanks to Thee, deservedly,  
 O Lord, our life, our hope, our help, our praise,  
 So justly bound, so oft, so many ways.

Mr. Bedell's reputation as "a man of choyce learning and sanctified wisdom" led to his appointment as chaplain to sir Henry Wotton, the king's ambassador at the court of Venice. That office had become vacant by the return of Nathaniel Fletcher (son of the bishop of London, of that name) in September, 1606. Sir Henry soon after wrote the following letter to the earl of Salisbury.

Venice, 23 Feb. 1606-7.—I have occasion, at the present, of begging your Lordship's passport and encouragement for one Mr. Bedell, whom I shall be very glad to have with me in the place of chaplain, because I hear very singular commendation of his good gifts and discreet behaviour. It may therefore please your Lordship, when he shall take the boldness to present himself before you, to set forward also this piece of God's service\*.

It was at an interesting period that he arrived in that city. A quarrel had arisen out of trifling causes between

\* MS. Birch.

the pope and the Venetian government; and matters at length arrived at such extremities that the pope had excommunicated the doge, (or duke,) the whole senate, and all the dominions. At the same time he had charged the clergy to suspend the performance of all sacred offices\*. This happened in April, 1606. The senate, nowise daunted by this proclamation, (which was called an interdict,) ordered the clergy to deliver up all such despatches as might be forwarded to them from Rome, and issued a protest declaring the interdict null, and forbidding the clergy from complying with its provisions.

In little more than twelve months, the pope, finding that he was not strong enough to enforce submission to his will, and seeing the impolicy of prolonging the contest under such circumstances, entered into negotiations with the offending state, and revoked the interdict.

It was during the continuance of this dispute that Mr. Bedell arrived at Venice, and he soon took a deep interest in the religious affairs of that state, and watched with considerable hope the preparation for the pure principles of the reformation, which seemed to be in progress.

\* Of his [Pope Paul the Fifth's] furious zeal in asserting the pretended privileges and rights of his see, he gave, when scarce warm in his chair, a remarkable instance, in his contest with the republic of Venice. This contest arose partly from two decrees of the republic, calculated to prevent the immoderate increase of religious houses in their dominions, and to set some bounds to the new acquisitions of wealth made daily by the religious [orders] and clergy, and partly from their refusing to deliver up to the ecclesiastical court two ecclesiastics, guilty of capital crimes. Paul, highly provoked at such proceedings, as manifest encroachments upon his authority, laid all the dominions of the republic under an interdict, by a bull, dated at Rome, the 17th of April, 1606. On the other hand, the Venetians declared the bull to be null and void, obliged the clergy to perform divine service as usual, and banished from all their dominions the capuchins and jesuits, the only religious orders that complied with the bull. Preparations for war were making on both sides, when an accommodation, not very honourable to the pope, was brought about by the mediation of Henry IV. king of France."—BOWER'S *History of the Popes*. Vol. vii., p. 477.

His introduction to Fra Paolo Sarpi, whom we commonly know by the appellation of father Paul, the official Theologo, or divine, of the senate, was one of the most gratifying consequences of his residence in Venice. With that eminent man, who is accounted to have been one "of the greatest divines and wisest men of that age," Mr. Bedell passed much of his time in reading and conversation. Each helped the other in the study of his native tongue; and they had frequent and familiar conferences on religious subjects. Sometimes, when they turned to the Greek New Testament, which was the constant study of father Paul, Mr. Bedell would suggest the critical exposition of some passage which his friend had not understood before; and the other received these suggestions with gratitude and joy, as being anxious above all things to arrive at a knowledge of the truth.

"I have heard him (Bedell,) say," observes A. C., "that there was not one word of all the Greek Testament but father Paul had marked with his red lead; this he mentioned, to show that he had studied the holy word."

Very soon after his arrival in Venice, Mr. Bedell translated the English Common Prayer into Latin, and father Paul and his friends, whose eyes were open to the corruptions of popery, and who longed for a reformation, were so much pleased with our forms of worship therein set forth, that they resolved to adopt it as a model, if their differences with the pope should end as they desired, in separation from the Romish church.

In 1608, a curious discovery which he made gave great satisfaction to his friend father Paul. Trivial as it now appears, it is yet worthy of being recorded, because it soon reached France and other parts of Europe, and being agreeable to the humour of the times, took effect where sound reasoning would have been unsuccessful. The circumstances are thus described in the manuscript of A. C.

About that time also there came a Jesuit to Venice, called Thomas Maria Carassa (an. 1608), and printed a Thousand

Theses of Philosophy and Divinity, and dedicated them with a blasphemous title thus, PAVLO V. VICE DEO, *Christianæ Reipublicæ monarchæ invictissimo, & Pontificiæ omnipotentiæ conservatori acerrimo\**; the which when Mr. Bedell had seen with amazement, he retired into his study, and by just calculation found out that it contained exactly, in the numerical letters of that proud swelling title, the number of the beast, 666, mentioned Apoc. xiii., ver. 18, so that he that runs may read

it in PAVLO V. VICE DEO. He showed it to the lord ambassador, to father Paul, and to the seven divines, who immediately laid hold upon it, as if it had been by divine revelation from heaven, and acquainted the prince and his senate with it; it was carried suddenly through the city, that this was Antichrist, and that they need not look for another; it was published and preached through all their territories, and the Romanists were ashamed and confounded at it, with horror and consternation, and knew not what to do, till they send forthwith (lest this discovery should spread further,) to their ghostly father concerning it, who never wants a fit salve for such a sore, but causeth a proclamation to be made, and to be sent unto all his vassals and tenants, the popish princes of christendom, to let them know that antichrist was born in Babylon, of the tribe of Dan, and was coming with a huge army to waste and destroy all opposers, and therefore they should arm themselves speedily, and make ready all their forces, by sea and land, to encounter him; and thus was that acute and ingenious discovery husht.

This is since mentioned by commentators upon that arithmetical mystery, but this was the original of it, as the lord ambassador told king James and others. The same is set down more fully in his book against the apostate Wadsworth, but his modesty conceals the first finder and discoverer of it.

Mr. Bedell resided eight years in Venice, and in the course of that period a warm friendship grew up and ripened between himself and father Paul. They freely communicated the thoughts of their hearts to each other,

\* To Paul V. the Vice-God, the most invincible monarch of the Christian commonwealth, and the most zealous asserter of papal omnipotence.

and the latter confessed, with great candour and sincerity, that he had learned more of theology and practical religion from Mr. Bedell than from any other person, with whom he had conversed during his whole life.

The estimation in which the ambassador's chaplain was held by foreign divines may be inferred from the manner in which his name is introduced in a letter from the eminent Diodati, of Geneva, to De Mornay\*. The following is an extract, which also furnishes some account of the state of Venice, at the period with which we are at present concerned.

Geneva, Aug. 10, 1608. . . . . There lately passed through this place, a secretary of the English ambassador at Venice, on his return from England to that city, from which he had been absent about two months and a half. He described to me so particularly the state of affairs, that it seemed to me as if God declared to me, by his mouth, what he declared in a vision to St. Paul at Corinth, the parallel between which city and Venice is very great,—*Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee, for I have much people in this city*†. This excellent person, who is grave and learned, spoke with much confidence of his hopes of some individuals, and of his expectation of most important general consequences; in sum, all is ready [to explode], and it only remains to apply the match. “Thus far,” said he to me, “Venice is like a new world: it is the greatest consolation to find one's self in companies and assemblies, at noblemen's houses, and to hear them speak with so much piety and zeal, of the truth of God with those good men, father Paul, Fulgentio, and Bedell the ambassador's chaplain. The public sermons are as good as could be preached at Geneva, and they are delivered with such earnestness that crowds flock to hear them; and it is necessary to go very early to be in time to get a place. The inquisition is kept under by a senator, who is a member of it, without whose suffrage nothing can be decided; he is always chosen from amongst the greatest adversaries of the pope. The vehe-

\* Memoirs, &c. of De Mornay. Vol. X., Letter 150.

† Acts xviii. 9, 10.

mence against the pope and the court of Rome is greater than ever. The jesuits are denounced from the pulpit, their doctrines refuted and decried, and themselves mortally disliked. Many nobles provide themselves with tutors of the reformed religion to instruct their families; three fourths of the nobility are warmly attached to the truth, and, as these are gained over, so the rest are favourably inclined. The city is full of German artisans, who are for the most part protestants. My mind imagines the man of Macedonia exclaiming, *Come over and help us\**. This is the work of the Almighty."

Mr. Bedell, in after-life, used frequently to relate anecdotes of the sermons of the above-named Fulgentio.

He said that one day that divine, preaching upon the words of Christ, *Have ye not read?* (Matt. xii. 3,) told the people that if Christ were now to ask the same question, all the answer they could give would be, "No, for we are forbidden to do so!" On another occasion, taking for his text the inquiry of Pilate, *What is truth?* Fulgentio condemned the practice of withholding the Scriptures from the people. He told them that, as for himself, he had, after a long search, found out what was truth, and, holding out a New Testament, he said that there it was,—in his hand; he then put it in his pocket, saying, "But it is a prohibited book!"

During his stay at Venice, Mr. Bedell advanced in the study of Hebrew, under the direction of the principal rabbins of the synagogue; who also procured for him a valuable manuscript of the Old Testament, which he afterwards gave to Emanuel college, and which, as Burnet was informed, cost its weight in silver.

So greatly was Mr. Bedell beloved by father Paul, that when the time came for his return to England, "the phoenix of the age," (as A. C. calls the Venetian divine,) entertained serious thoughts of accompanying his friend; and was only prevented by the interference of the senate, who could not spare so valuable a servant. But he bade

\*Acts xvi. 9.



farewell to Bedell with great reluctance, and desired him to accept a picture of himself, which might awaken a correspondence of thought when they were separated in person; and he added, as a further token of affection, a Hebrew Bible and a small Hebrew Psalter, "wherein," says A. C., "he wrote some expressions of love, subscribed with his heart and hand." Father Paul also placed in the hands of his friend portions of the manuscript of his invaluable *History of the Council of Trent*, together with the *History of the Interdict*, and of the *Inquisition*. Of the former work some parts had already been transmitted to London, by sir Henry Wotton and Mr. Bedell, to be printed in English and Latin.

Father Paul was left by his friend a papist only in name. Even in public worship, he omitted those devotions which were addressed to the saints, as well as many other parts of the service to which his conscience objected; and when people came to him to converse with him about their souls, or for confession, he pointed out the absurdity of the popish superstitions, and endeavoured to instil into their minds the true principles of the gospel. It is to be regretted that he did not advance a step further, for his holy character and great learning and abilities might have been effectual, God blessing his exertions, to the establishment of the reformation in that part of Italy. But, when some one spoke to him seriously on the subject, and argued that it was his duty to separate from an idolatrous church, to which he was now giving credit by his apparent connexion with it, he only answered that God had not endued him with the courage of Luther; thus showing that the spirit was willing, but the flesh weak.

Returning once more to Bury St. Edmund's, Mr. Bedell "was received," says A. C., "with wonderful expressions of joy by all sorts of people, as an angel of God." He resumed his wonted pastoral labours; and employed some of his hours in translating the writings of father Paul into Latin, a language which he wrote with acknowledged elegance.

It was probably about this time that he married Leah, the widow of a recorder of Bury (Robert Maw, Esq.), whose maiden name was Le Strange, and whom A. C. describes as "a person comely, virtuous, and godly." By her he had three sons, William, John, and Ambrose, and one daughter named Grace, who, with her brother John, died young.

In due time, he finished his Latin translation of the two latter books of father Paul's *History of the Council of Trent*, (the two former having been translated by sir Adam Newton), as well as the *History of the Interdict*, and of the *Inquisition*. These works he dedicated to the king; but valuable as was the service which he thus rendered to the protestant cause, he was suffered to remain in obscurity. He did not, however, repine at this neglect, neither did he seek the recompense he deserved, for he had learned to despise the world, and to be always contented with such outward goods as God might think fit to bestow upon him.

But, in process of time, a generous patron and constant friend was raised up to him, in the person of sir Thomas Jermyn, of Rushbrook, near Bury, a gentleman of high character, who was also a privy-counsellor, and vice-chamberlain to king Charles the first. He became acquainted with the pious life and conversation of Mr. Bedell, as well as with the services which he was rendering to the church by these publications; and, in the year 1615, presented him to the rectory of Horningsheath, a parish about two miles distant from Bury.

His tenderness of conscience nearly prevented him from benefiting by this kindness; for, being required to pay certain large fees, customary in those times, for institution and induction, he considered that compliance would be akin to simony, and told the bishop that he could not consent to pay more than a fair remuneration to the servant for the trouble of writing the forms, and for providing wax and parchment. He then took his leave, and went home, having resolved rather to lose the pre-

ferment than to accept it upon terms which he deemed unlawful. A few days after, the bishop sent for him, and remitted the fees. Mr. Bedell was then inducted without further difficulty, and speedily removed to his new parsonage, where he rendered the most acceptable acknowledgment to God for his goodness, by a diligent discharge of his pastoral duties. Adapting his preaching to the capacities of his flock, he addressed himself forcibly to their consciences, he catechised the young, visited the sick, and laboured, in his private intercourse with the people, to implant religion in their hearts. He also taught them by the eloquence of a holy example, which placed before their eyes a living exhibition of the precepts which he delivered. In his public ministrations he strictly conformed to the rubric, and therefore declined to adopt the practice of bowing, and some other observances, which were introduced about that time into the public services of the church from mistaken motives, and without due authority. He was kind and liberal to the poor. It also appears that he saw the evil of indiscriminate alms-giving, and that he was so skilful in examining the vagrants who passed that way, and in detecting their impostures, that they usually avoided his parish and neighbourhood.

A life thus employed in close attention to spiritual duties, would furnish little for the biographer to record; and even that little could scarcely be known through any other channel than the subject of the memoir himself. But no such record exists, and all that we have to notice with reference to this period, is a correspondence in which he engaged, and wherein he exhibited a great example of the painful office of the controversialist being sustained with the temper of a Christian.

The circumstances which drew him into the contest were of a peculiar nature. His friend, Mr. Waddesworth, had been a member of the same college, had resided upon a living in the same diocese, and had gone out as chaplain to the ambassador at the Spanish court, about the time

when Mr. Bedell was appointed to the chaplaincy at Venice. Thus far they appear to have advanced through life in parallel lines; but from this point they took very opposite directions. While Bedell promoted the growth of reformation, with all his heart, in Italy, Waddesworth forsook the protestant faith, and betook himself to a monastery in Spain, where he thenceforward lived and died. But, although separated in body and opposed in faith, their affectionate remembrance of past friendship survived, and Waddesworth wrote to explain his motives for embracing the Romish religion. Out of this arose a correspondence, of which Izaak Walton justly observes, that "there seems to be a controversy, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness; which I mention the rather," he adds, "because it seldom falls out so in a book war.

In the year 1624, after Mr. Waddesworth's death, these letters were printed, and dedicated to the prince of Wales, (afterwards king Charles the first.) A few short extracts will show the spirit in which it was begun and maintained, better than any description.

"All men," writes Mr. Bedell, at the commencement of the correspondence, "are interested in the defence of truth, how much more he that is called to be a preacher of it! All Christians are admonished, by St. Jude, to fight for the faith once given to the saints, how much more those that are leaders in this warfare! How could I say I loved our Lord Jesus Christ, if, his honour being questioned, I should be silent? How could I approve to mine own soul that I loved you, if I suffered you to enjoy your own error, [even] suppos[ing] it not damnable? Besides that, you, and perhaps others also, might be confirmed in it, perhaps interpreting my silence for a confession that your motives were unanswerable. But therein I was not only resolved myself to the contrary, but thought it so easy to resolve any indifferent mind, as methought it was more shame not to have done it at the first, than praise to do it at the last. As for the success

of my endeavour, I was to leave it to God. Many and secret are the ways of his providence, which serveth itself sometimes even of errors, to the safe conduct of us to our final happiness."

In another letter, he thus adverts to the common faults of controversialists: "He that hath strongly conceited anything, findeth it in all that ever he readeth or falleth upon. Too much heat in contention, and desire of victory, blindeth the judgment, and maketh a man heedlessly lay hold upon anything, that he thinks may serve his turn."

His opinion of popery is expressed in the following terms:—

For my part, I call God to record against mine own soul that, both before my going into Italy and since, I have still endeavoured to find and follow the truth in the points controverted between us, without any earthly respect in the world. Neither wanted I fair opportunity, had I seen it on that side, easily and with good hope of entertainment, to have adjoined myself to the church of Rome, after your example. But, (to use your words,) as I shall answer at the dreadful day of judgment, I never saw, heard, or read anything which did convince me, nay, which did not finally confirm me daily more and more, in the persuasion that, in these differences, it rests on our part, wherein I have not followed "human conjectures from foreign and outward things," (as, by your leave, methinks you do in these motives, whereby I protest to you, in the sight of God, I am also much comforted and assured in the possession of the truth,) but "the undoubted voice of God in his Word, which is more to my conscience than a thousand topical arguments\*." In regard whereof I am no less assured that, if I should forsake it, I should be renounced by our Saviour, before God and his angels, than in the holding it be acknowledged and saved; which makes me resolve, not only for no hope, (if it were of ten thousand worlds,) but by the gracious assistance of God, (without whom I know that I am able to do nothing,) for no terror or torment ever to become a papist.

The correspondence, (which is still highly appreciated

\* Arguments from probability.

as a powerful and charitable refutation of Romanism,) terminates in the following manner:—

And now, to close up this account of yours, . . . whether it be perfect and allowable or no, look you to it. I have here told you mine opinion of it, as directly, plainly, and freely as I can; and, as you required, fully, if not tediously. I list not to contend with you about it. Satisfy your own conscience, and our common Lord and Master, and you shall easily satisfy me. Once yet, by my advice, review it and cast it over again. And if in the particulars you find you have taken many nullities for signifying numbers—many smaller signifiers for greater—correct the total. If you find, namely, that out of desire of *unity* and dislike of contention, you have apprehended our diversities to be more than they are,—conceived a necessity of an *external infallible judge*, where there was none,—attributed the *privilege of the church*, properly so called, to that which is *visible and mixed*; if you find the reformed churches more *charitable*, (the proper note of Christ's sheep,)—the Roman faction more *fraudulent*, and that by *public counsel* and of *politic purpose*, in framing not only all later writers but some ancient, yea, the Holy Scriptures, for their advantage; if you find you have mistaken the protestant doctrine touching *invisibility*, your own also touching *uniformity* in matters of faith; if you have been misinformed, and too hasty of credit touching the *imputations laid to the beginners of the reformation*, (for as touching the *want of succession*, and the *fabulous ordination* at the Nag's-head, I hope you will not be stiff and persist in your error, but confess and condemn it in yourself,)—if, as I began to say, you find these things to be thus, give glory to God that hath heard your prayer, entreating direction in his holy truth, and withhold not that truth of his in unrighteousness. Unto Him that is able to restore and establish you, yea, to consummate and perfect you, according to his almighty power and unspeakable goodness toward his elect in Christ Jesus, I do from my heart commend you, and rest, your very loving brother in Christ Jesus,

W. BEDELL.

Although Mr. Waddesworth was not induced to return to the protestant church, it appears that his friend's arguments made considerable impression on his mind;

for, some years after, when Bedell was bishop of Kilmore, Waddesworth's son came from Spain, and visited him in Ireland, and assured him that his father remembered with gratitude the efforts which the bishop had made for his benefit, adding, that his letters were almost always lying open before him. That son also appeared to have been nurtured in the true religion, for on his arrival he made a profession of the protestant faith.

Mr. Bedell rarely left his parish, but devoted himself closely to his clerical duties; and so little was he known, even in the church, that when the distinguished foreign pastor, Diodati, of Geneva, visited England, and inquired of many of the clergy for Mr. Bedell, he could not even learn where he resided. Diodati was much surprised to find that a man of such excellent character and great attainments, who was "admitted," as A. C. expresses it, "to the bosom acquaintance of father Paul, and so much esteemed by the chief men at Venice, should not even be known in his own country. At length, when he had given up all hope of success, he "met with him by chance," says A. C., "in Cheapside, and embraced him with all the joyful affection imaginable, until they both shed many tears; after which interview, Diodati carried him to the bishop of Durham, Dr. Morton, and gave that learned bishop such a character of Mr. Bedell, that he presently took particular care to have him provided for."

It was, perhaps, through this introduction, that in the year 1626, Mr. Bedell was invited into a new sphere of usefulness. The fellows of Trinity college, Dublin, acting under the advice of archbishop Usher, (whom we know to have been Dr. Morton's correspondent,) unanimously chose Mr. Bedell to be the provost of the university. They accordingly wrote to him to announce their decision, and to invite him to accept the office. At the same time they forwarded an address to king Charles, begging the royal sanction for their election; and requested Sir Henry Wotton, (then provost of Eton,) to recommend him to the favour of his majesty, by bearing

testimony to his character. Sir Henry, although his influence at court had declined, complied with their wishes, by writing the following letter :—

May it please your most gracious Majesty,—Having been informed, that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither with a most humble petition upon your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedell (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk) governor of your college at Dublin, for the good of that society : and myself being required to render unto your majesty some testimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my employment there ; I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your majesty will accept of my poor judgment) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter man could have been propounded to your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to advance the cause of God ; wherein his travels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians. For, may it please your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took (I may say) into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart ; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days ; of which, all the passages were well known unto the king your father, of blessed memory. And so, with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office ; for the general fame of his learning, his life, and christian temper, and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able. Your majesty's most humble and faithful servant,

H. WOTTON.

The news of his appointment occasioned regret rather than pleasure to Mr. Bedell ; he was attached to his parish by a residence of twelve years ; he had there pursued the quiet and happy labours of a country pastor, and he was little inclined to change the scene for a new sphere of exertion, which demanded talents which had never yet been called into action. He therefore wrote a letter to



the gentleman who had been deputed to communicate with him on the subject, in which he beautifully declared his contentment and satisfaction in his present lot, at the same time expressing his readiness to acquiesce in whatever might seem to be the will of God as to his future disposal.

With my hearty commendations remembered, (he says,) I have this day received both your letters, dated the 2nd of this month. I thank you for your care and diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite as to have conferred with some of my friends, such as possibly do know the conditions of that place better than I do, and my insufficiencies better than my lord primate; yet, since that I perceive by both your letters the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand: I am married and have three children; therefore, if the place requires a single man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of anything necessary for this life; I have a competent living of above a hundred pounds a-year, in a good air and situation, with a very convenient house, near to my friends, a little parish, and not exceeding the compass of my weak voice. I have often heard it that changing seldom brings the better, especially to those that are well. And I see well, that my wife, (though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever God shall appoint,) had rather continue with her friends in her native country, than put herself into the hazard of the seas, and a foreign land, with many casualties in travel, which she, perhaps out of fear, apprehends more than there is cause.

All these reasons I have, if I consult with flesh and blood, which move me rather to reject this offer (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my lord primate, for his mind and good opinion of me); on the other side, I consider the end, wherefore I came into the world, and the business of a subject to our Lord Jesus Christ, of a minister of the gospel, of a good patriot, and of an honest man. If I may be of any better use to my country, to God's church, or of any better service to our common Master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects; and if God call me, I must answer, *Here I am*. For my part, therefore, I will not stir one foot, or lift up my

finger for or against this motion; but, if it proceed from the Lord, that is, if those whom it concerns there, do procure those who may command me here, to send me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia, yea, though I were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and difficulties, but death itself in the performance. Sir, I have, as plainly as I can, showed you my mind; desiring you with my humble service to represent it to my reverend good lord, my lord primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the glory of his holy name, and have you in his merciful protection; so I rest, your loving friend,

*From Bury, March 6, 1626.*

WILLIAM BEDELL.

There is something truly refreshing and instructive in the sight of this simple dependence upon the care and wisdom of God. It seems to teach all who contemplate it to be content in their condition, to be grateful for their present share of blessings; and banishing all ambitious longings, to ply their daily duties with diligent hands, being inclined rather to acquiesce in promotion when it courts their acceptance, than to appear as petitioners for the smiles and favours of the world.

The king, having ascertained Mr. Bedell's fitness for the office, commanded him to undertake it, and in the spirit of the foregoing letter, he cheerfully obeyed. Crossing over, in the first instance, without his family, he entered upon the duties which were assigned to him, and showed, by his manner of discharging them, that long retirement and studious habits had not disqualified him for the business of more public life.

## CHAPTER II.

PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,—BISHOP OF  
KILMORE AND ARDAGH.

The pastors should, like watchmen, still be press'd  
To wake the world that sleepeth in his sin,  
And rouse them up, that long are in their rest,  
And show the day of Christ will strait begin;  
And to foretell and preach that light divine,  
E'en as the cock doth sing ere day doth shine,

GEFFREY WHITNEY. Anno 1586.

WHEN Mr. Bedell entered this new sphere of usefulness, he took some time to look around him, to see with what duties his office was charged, and amongst what manner of people it was to be exercised. While he was thus quietly studying the statutes of the university, and the characters of the Irish, without taking any very bold or decided steps, but rather walking cautiously, he was suspected of being either weak or indolent; and it began to be feared that the university laboured under the disadvantage of having an inactive governor.

It came to his knowledge, that even archbishop Usher participated in these apprehensions; and, therefore, on his return to England for the purpose of removing his family to Dublin, he wrote to the archbishop, tendering his resignation of this new preferment. The thought of leaving a parish in which he had spent so many happy years, was painful to him, and he would have preferred to pass the residue of his days amongst the flock which he had so faithfully tended.

But the archbishop replied in terms of great encouragement, which fixed his determination: and he wrote to express his willingness to retain the provostship to which he had been appointed. "My chief fear, in truth," he said, "was, and is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable

in that place ; in which case, if I might have a lawful and honest retreat, I think no wise man could blame me to retain it ; especially having understood that your grace, whose authority I chiefly followed at the first, did, from your own judgment, and that of other wise men, so truly pronounce of me that I was a weak man. Now that I have received your letters, so full of life and encouragement, it puts some more life in me."

He therefore resigned his benefice, and removed his family into Ireland, where he now felt himself prepared for a vigorous discharge of his duties. He corrected abuses, issued new regulations where he saw occasion, and adopted prudent measures for the promotion and encouragement of learning. Alive to the importance of making the universities seminaries of religion, as well as of science and letters, he applied himself with particular attention to the spiritual improvement of the students, whom he catechised once a-week, and addressed in appropriate sermons every Sunday. A course of lectures, which he delivered upon the church catechism, was so highly esteemed as a sound exposition of doctrine and duty, that even the notes taken by some of his hearers were much sought after, and accounted of great value.

In this sphere of useful exertion, his services were of short duration. Scarcely two years had elapsed before he was advanced to the bishopric of Kilmore and Ardagh, in the province of Ulster. He owed this appointment, which took place in the year 1629, to the regard and influence of his friend, sir Thomas Jermyn.

The official announcement of his promotion conveyed to him, in the king's name, an honourable acknowledgment of his services in the government of the college.

And as we were pleased, [so this document declared,] by our former gracious letters, to establish the said William Bedell, by our royal authority, in the provostship of the said college of the blessed Trinity, near Dublin, where we are informed that by his care and good government, there hath been wrought great reformation, to our singular contentment ; so

we purpose to continue our care of the society, being the principal nursery of religion and learning in that our realm; and to recommend unto the college some such person from whom we may expect the like worthy effects, for their good, as we and they have found from Mr. Bedell.

He had entered the fifty-ninth year of his age when he undertook the charge of ruling the church for Christ's sake. But he was in the enjoyment of the full vigour of his mind, and great strength of constitution; and he resolved at once to devote himself to the complete discharge of his ministry, in the spirit of those primitive bishops who shone like lights in the world. If he should meet with opposition in the performance of his duties, he was prepared to contend against it manfully, but with the temper of a christian.

When he arrived in his diocese, he found it in such disorder that he scarcely knew where to commence his attempts at reformation. The revenues of the bishopric had been so wasted that they scarcely afforded him a maintenance; his cathedral of Ardagh was in ruins; the livings within his jurisdiction were occupied by a very small number of clergymen; and the most worthy incumbents, who were but seven or eight in each diocese, were Englishmen, and unable to minister in the language of the people. Of these melancholy circumstances he gave an account in the following letter to archbishop Laud:—

Right Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,—Since my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas, (till which time the settling of the state of the college, and my lord primate's visitation, deferred my consecration,) I have not been unmindful of your lordship's commands to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the church: which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my dioceses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate, And shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable.

The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick, together with

the bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here, built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters here and there (which are not the tenth part of the remnant), obstinate recusants\*. A popish clergy, more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical by their vicar-general and officials; who are so confident, that they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes; which affront hath been offered to myself by the popish primate's vicar-general: for which I have begun a process against him. Their primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the bishop in another part of my diocese, further off. Every parish hath its priest; and some, two or three a-piece: and so their mass-houses also: in some places, mass is said in the churches. Friars there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their habit, and, by their importunate begging, impoverish the people; who, indeed, are generally very poor, as from that cause, so from their paying double tithes, to their own clergy and ours, from the dearth of corn, and the death of their cattle these late years, with the contributions to their soldiers and their agents; and (which they forget not to reckon among other causes,) the oppression of the court ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For our own, there are seven or eight ministers in each diocese of good sufficiency; and (which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in popery still,) English, which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold, many of them, two or three, four, or more vicarages a-piece; even the clerkships themselves are, in like manner, conferred upon the English: and sometimes two or three, or more, upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farm. His majesty is now, with the greatest part of the country, as to their hearts and consciences, king, but at the pope's discretion.

WILL. KILMORE AND ARDAGH.

*Kilmore, April 1, 1630.*

\* Refusers of the protestant doctrines.

The wise lord Bacon remarks, that “a good husbandman is ever pruning in his vineyard or his field, not unseasonably indeed, not unskillfully, but lightly; he findeth ever somewhat to do.” The truth of this observation was exemplified in the course pursued by bishop Bedell, and the first object to which he applied the pruning-knife was the system of pluralities; respecting the evils of which, in principle and practice, he thus stated his views to archbishop Usher by letter:—

Plainly I do thus think, that of all the diseases of the church in these times, next to the corruption of our [ecclesiastical] courts, this of pluralities is the most deadly and pestilent, especially when those are instituted into charges ecclesiastical, who, were they never so willing, yet, for the want of the language of the people, are unable to discharge them . . . . . Let the thing itself speak. Whence flow the ignorance of the people, the neglect of God’s worship, and defrauding the poor of the remains of dedicated things, the ruin of the mansion-houses of the ministers, the desolation of churches, the swallowing up of parishes by the farmers of them, but from this fountain? There may be cause, no doubt, why sometimes, in some place, and to some man, many churches may be committed; but now that (as appears by the late certificates) there are, besides the titular primate and bishop, of priests in the diocese of Kilmore and Ardagh sixty-six, of ministers and curates but thirty-two, (of which number also three whose wives come not to church), in this so great odds as the adversaries have of us in number, (to omit the advantage of the language, the possession of people’s hearts, the countenancing of the nobility and gentry,) is it a time to commit many churches to one man?

When his plans of proceeding were sufficiently matured, he called a meeting of his clergy, in the town of Cavan; and, as A. C. describes, “after sermon, (wherein, out of the Scriptures and antiquity, having set before them with good evidence and demonstration of God’s Spirit, the institution, nature, work, and end of the ministry of the gospel,) he propounds unto them, as a father to his children, or as a brother to his brethren, like another

Joseph (always styling them ‘Fratres et compresbyteri\*,’ when he spoke to them in Latin,) the necessity of reformation of those intolerable abuses tending to the scandal of the reformed religion amongst the natives, and destruction of themselves as well as of their flocks. Which speech of his being accompanied with so much piety, moderation, and gravity, as if he had had no civil pre-eminence over them, left such impressions upon their spirits, that it revived an universal resentment and applause, with submission to all that was propounded; as Ezra found, when he went about the reformation of marriage, to cause every one that had taken strange wives to put them away; when all the congregation answered and said, with a loud voice, *As thou hast said so will we do; viz., to cleave to one benefice, and resign the other.*”

He also gave proof that he was willing to practise what he enjoined, by resigning one of his bishoprics, that of Ardagh, although the two sees had long been united, and were contiguous as well as small and poor, and quite within the compass of one man’s ability to govern. And his example was voluntarily followed, (for he had no power to enforce submission,) by all of his clergy, with only one exception.

The resistance which he experienced was offered by the dean of Kilmore, who gave him much trouble, and contrived to convey a false impression of the real merits of the case to the mind of the primæ Usher. That prejudice was subsequently removed by a personal interview between those excellent men, an event which gave great comfort to our bishop’s mind, as he thus declared by letter:—“There had nothing happened to me, I will not say since I came into Ireland, but, as far as I can call to remembrance, in my whole life, which did so much affect

\* Brethren and fellow-presbyters.—It is recorded that he often repeated, with approbation, an ancient canon, which stated, “That a presbyter ought not to be allowed to stand after the bishop was seated.”



me in this kind, as the hazard of your good opinion . . . . But blessed be God, who, at my being with you, refreshed my spirit by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me."

In the end, the dean exchanged his preferment, and left bishop Bedell's jurisdiction. It is not improbable that Dr. Bernard, archbishop Usher's chaplain, who was dean of Kilmore at the time of the rebellion, was the person who made the exchange on this occasion.

Encouraged by the success which attended his exertions in this part of the work of reformation, our bishop proceeded next to take measures for promoting the residence of his clergy upon their benefices. But here he met with serious obstacles to his excellent designs. King James, who took many prudent measures for the improvement and civilization of the Irish people, had, amongst other things, made some provision for settling a resident clergy amongst them, by assigning glebe-lands to all livings, and requiring the incumbents to build parsonages within a stated period. But the lands thus appropriated, were not, in all cases, within the parishes to which they were attached, and in many instances were most inconveniently situated. In order to remove this difficulty, the bishop endeavoured to effect such exchanges of land as might provide more convenient sites for building; but this was a work of time, and was only partially accomplished during his life. Yet he succeeded in persuading all, except one, of his clergy to reside within the boundaries of their parishes.

Such were his efforts to employ, in their proper spheres, the ministers whom he found within his spiritual jurisdiction. And not less anxiously did he regard the acquirements and fitness of those who came to be invested with the sacred office. And assuredly no more weighty or solèmn charge could be given to any ruler of the church of Christ, than that which continually exercised his mind at the seasons of ordination,—*Lay hands suddenly on no man, and be not a partaker of other men's*

*sins.* Hence he deemed it necessary to be very searching in the investigation of the religious and moral qualifications of candidates for holy orders, as well as of their capacities and knowledge. He examined them individually in the presence of several of the clergy, whom he also requested to satisfy themselves of the fitness of the young men who presented themselves for that responsible charge. And he never proceeded to ordain any man, without the consent of the clergy who were present at the examination.

On these most interesting occasions, he always preached the sermon to those young shepherds whom he was about to appoint to feed the flock; and he administered the communion to them with his own hands. A. C. further informs us, that he never conferred the order of presbyter upon any person "under a year and a half after his first order of deaconship."

From the day that he had set them apart to be preachers of the gospel, he watched over them with an anxious eye, exciting them to a becoming deportment and habits, dealing with them all in the spirit of meekness, behaving himself kindly and gently towards the infirmities of those whose general conduct was worthy of respect, helping them out of their troubles with the most tender care and compassion, and living with them on terms of friendly intercourse. When they came to be appointed to any spiritual charge, he examined them, if they had been previously unknown to him; he bound them, by solemn engagements, to constant residence; exacted a no less solemn promise that, in case of their accepting another living, they would resign the benefice to which he admitted them; and, in his Latin form of collation, presented to them an impressive memorial of their pastoral obligations, to the following effect:—"Adjuring you in the Lord, and enjoining you by virtue of that obedience which you owe to the great Shepherd, diligently to feed his flock committed to your care, which He purchased with his own blood,—to instruct them in the catholic

faith, and perform divine offices in a language understood by the people; and, above all things, to show yourself a pattern to believers in good works, so that the adversaries may be put to shame, when they find nothing for which they can reproach you."

His annual visitations were directed to the best possible uses; being seasons in which he particularly inspected his diocese, and gave good instructions to the clergy and people. On these occasions he always chose to be the preacher, and the manuscript life represents the following as the spirit of his exhortations:—"Let the vain froth of human knowledge, and the garnished and painted beauty of the enticing eloquence of man's wisdom give place. Preach me *Christ crucified*; know nothing but Him; put Him before the eyes of God's people; glory in nothing but Him."

For the further improvement of his diocese, he called together a synod of his clergy, and laid before them a code of regulations, for the better government of the flock committed to his charge, and for the spiritual improvement of the pastors over whom he presided. By these canons he appointed that a diocesan synod should assemble annually, revived the ancient office of rural dean, with the charge of carefully watching over the lives and manners of the clergy; forbade burial in the churches, and the use of those sacred buildings for secular meetings; enjoined the public catechising of children, from the age of seven until they should be confirmed, and regulated other matters. The decrees of this synod were signed by the bishop and clergy, and bear the date of September 13, 1638.

When some persons censured the above as an illegal assembly, and rumours were afloat that the bishop would be summoned to Dublin to give an account of his share in the proceeding, archbishop Usher advised those who were moving in the business, to let him alone, "lest he should be provoked to say more for himself than his enemies could say against him."

We are next to consider his efforts for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, which were a disgrace to his diocese, and sat in his name although they rejected his authority. The judge of the court obtained his place by purchase, and was guilty of the crimes of extortion, oppression, and venality. That such evils should be seated in his see, and that they should work under the seeming sanction of his name, was a source of bitter grief to this virtuous prelate. "Amongst all the impediments to the work of God amongst us," he says in a letter to Usher, "there is not any one greater than the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; . . . . let us preach never so painfully and piously; I say more, let us live never so blamelessly ourselves, so long as the officers in our courts prey upon them, they esteem us no better than publicans and worldlings; and so much the more deservedly, because we are called spiritual men, and call ourselves reformed christians."

Bishop Bedell was not the man to regret these disorders without attempting to correct them; and the plan which he adopted was to take his seat in his own court, attended by some of the clergy as advisers, and there to administer justice. The whole character of the court was thus entirely changed; the people owned it to be a benefit instead of a grievance, and his experience soon led him to make the remark, "I find it to be true that Tully saith, *Justice is wonderfully prized by the multitude*\*; and certainly, to our proper work, a great advantage it is to obtain a good opinion of those we are to deal with. But besides this, there fall out occasions to speak of God and his presence, of the religion of a witness, the danger of an oath, the purity of marriage, the preciousness of a good name, repairing of churches, and the like. Penance itself may be enjoined, and penitents reconciled, with some profit to others beside themselves."

Thus the ecclesiastical court was restored to its proper uses. But the lay-chancellor was by no means inclined

\* *Justitia mirifica quædam res multitudini.*

to resign his gains without a struggle, and he brought a suit in chancery against the bishop, for invading his office, and that process excited a very general interest. The bishops, considering that those courts, sitting in their names yet independent of their control, were doing them great injury in public estimation, encouraged our prelate to go on as he had begun, and promised to support him. On the other hand, the lay-chancellors of every diocese combined to assist the chancellor of Kilmore.

As the time of trial drew near, the bishop declared in what spirit he maintained the contest, in the following terms:—"I put it to the trial, and leave the success to God. If I obtain the cause, the profit shall be to this poor nation. If not, I shall show my consent to those my reverend brethren that have endeavoured to redress this enormity before me; I shall have the testimony of mine own conscience, to have sought to discharge my duty to God and his people. Yea, which is the main, the work of my ministry and service in this nation shall receive furtherance howsoever, rather than any hinderance thereby. And if, by the continuance of such oppressions, anything fall out otherwise than well, I shall have acquitted myself towards his majesty, and those that have engaged themselves for me. At last, I shall have the better reason and juster cause to resign to his majesty the jurisdiction, which I am not permitted to manage."

The vexatious course of these proceedings is related at considerable length by bishop Burnet, who also introduces many letters, written by bishop Bedell on the subject. Referring the reader, who may desire further information on the question, to that memoir, we shall merely state that the case being altogether new, the bishop wished to plead his own cause, and to declare the grounds upon which he had acted; that this privilege was denied to him, and that in the end, the lord chancellor Bolton gave his decision against the bishop, and awarded costs to his adversary, to the amount of one hundred pounds. Bishop

Bedell, speaking on this subject to Mr. Clogy, told him that when he asked the lord chancellor how he came to make so unjust a decree, the judge answered, that "All that his father left him was a register's place in an ecclesiastical court; so that he thought he was bound to support those courts, which he saw would be ruined if the way the bishop took had not been checked."

The other Irish bishops felt no inclination to enter into a tedious and hazardous contest against this decision; and even the excellent primate told the bishop of Kilmore, that the tide ran so high that he could assist him no longer. But bishop Bedell had not undertaken this enterprise without having counted the cost, and he was resolved by the help of God to persevere, even though he were left to labour alone. He returned to his diocese; he again took his seat in the ecclesiastical court; and the chancellor neither molested him in the discharge of that office, nor demanded the payment of the costs which had been so unjustly awarded to him. It seems to have been supposed that the chancellor, in thus submitting, acted upon the suggestion of the authorities in Dublin; and we are assured that even this very officer told Mr. Clogy, some years after, "that he thought there was not such a man on the face of the earth as bishop Bedell; that he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland; and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he would have overthrown the consistorial courts, and have recovered the episcopal jurisdiction out of the chancellor's hands."

Having thus rescued the episcopal court from the government of those who abused its authority for their private advantage, he exercised the powers belonging to it with justice and wisdom. He reduced the fees that had been exacted, and shortened the processes; and when persons of bad character were brought to undergo the censures of the church, he treated them as a father would deal with his offending children, and studied to bring them to repentance.

The diminution of all fees payable to himself or his officers, was another object which he endeavoured to effect. His principle was, that such payments ought never to exceed a fair remuneration for services performed. Hence he entirely abolished the fees they usually paid at ordinations, and for induction into benefices; with a view to which he wrote all the forms and titles with his own hand, and not only enjoined the clergymen for whom they were intended, not to give presents to his servants, but accompanied them to the gate of his house to prevent their doing so, as far as he was able. "Whereas," says the manuscript, "before, in that place there was so much for the bishop, so much for his wife, so much for the chapter, so much for the scribe or secretary, and so from the cook and butler to the groom of the stable, and all the rest, so that the minister did not well know how to come so provided as to give content to so many cravers." He also reduced the fees paid at visitations to a very small amount.

In most of these efforts for the improvement of the Irish church, bishop Bedell worked almost alone. The abuses against which he contended had long taken root in the land, many interests were combined to preserve them; and it required more than an ordinary share of energy and decision of character to undertake their overthrow. Even the pious and excellent archbishop gave him less countenance and help than circumstances seem to have required. As Burnet says, "he had too gentle a soul to manage the rough work of reforming abuses," so that although he saw the necessity for correcting the prevailing corruptions, and took some steps for their removal, and longed for better days, yet he shrunk from the difficulties by which he saw that his beloved brother of Kilmore was surrounded, and could not persuade himself to venture far into those troubled waters. On some occasions he even attempted to moderate the ardour of Bedell's zeal for reformation.

The same love of purity and justice which excited

him to the measures already described, followed him into every scene of official duty, and dictated a bold and independent line of conduct. This was exemplified in a remarkable manner in the court of high commission, of which he was a member. The government had recommended a clergyman named Corbet, to Dr. Adair, bishop of Killala, as a fit person to hold one of his livings. Mr. Corbet had been driven out of Scotland, at the commencement of the troubles in the reign of Charles the first, and having taken refuge in Dublin, had published a political work, which was pleasing to those in authority. But the bishop of Killala, disapproving of the temper and spirit of Corbet's book, refused to confer the benefice upon him; in consequence of which, he was summoned before the court of high-commission, as a disaffected person, a favourer of the covenanters, and unfit to occupy a bishopric. When it came to Bedell's turn to declare his sentiments, he first read over the charges advanced against the bishop at the bar, then described the qualifications of a bishop as stated by St. Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus, and finally assured the court that he could discern nothing in the conduct of the accused that was inconsistent with the apostle's account of a bishop's character. He also described the manner of proceeding against bishops in the Greek and Latin churches, which did not entertain charges of a nature like the present.

“None in the court,” says the writer of the manuscript life, “said a word against what my bishop had spoken;” yet the accused was deprived of his bishopric, fined, and imprisoned. But soon after, a tacit acknowledgment of the justice of bishop Bedell's sentiments was given, in the appointment of his injured brother Adair to the see of Waterford.

Our thoughts have hitherto been chiefly engaged, in this chapter, upon bishop Bedell's exertions for the removal of evil from the church, but we may now proceed to notice his measures for the advancement of his heavenly Master's cause.



He was seated in the midst of popery, being himself most warmly attached to the doctrines of the reformation; and, feelingly alive to the dishonour done to God by the ignorance and superstition which prevailed around him, he resolved to apply his hand to the harvest which invited him.

His first efforts were made amongst the popish priests. Most of these could do no more than read the Latin offices of the church, and many did not even understand the services which they repeated. But he met with some who were possessed of better qualifications, and these he invited to converse with him. He also had much communication with the young priests, and other inmates of a convent near his own residence.

By means of his learning and scriptural arguments, many were brought to confess that they had been trained in error, and to embrace the principles of the reformation; and when he had tried and sifted them, with a view of ascertaining their sincerity, and believed that they were competent to instruct others in the religion of the gospel, he appointed them to the benefices of his diocese. Many persons objected to this latter step, fearing that the converts were false professors, eating the bread of deceit; but a time of most searching trial arrived, in the rebellion of 1641, when one only proved to be a hypocrite. This wretched man was "one P. Brady," says A. C., "one of the first murderers that appeared in the day of our calamity, who afterwards received the wages of his apostasy, being slain in his sin by our forces, at Butler's Bridge, in the parish of Cavan, whose minister's goods he had plundered the very first day of the rebellion, near the place where he fell."

How striking is the contrast presented by another, who, from having been a popish priest, became a pastor of the protestant church! "Amongst other converts was a learned friar, called Daniel O'Creane, on whom the bishop had bestowed a good living." A. C. relates that this

minister did not find one protestant inhabitant in the parish to which he was appointed, but that he was successful in many instances in his efforts to spread a knowledge of the truth. He "did not fall away upon the rebellion, as many hypocrites and false converts did, but stood out manfully against all violence, and spoil, and terror, and escaped to Dublin at length, naked and bare; and the first money that God sent him, he laid out for an English Bible."

In order that he might personally carry forward the good work of conversion, bishop Bedell learned the Irish language; and although he did not converse in that tongue, he was able to read, write, and translate it. He caused the public service of the church to be performed, in his cathedral, every Sunday, in the native language; and for the further diffusion of scriptural truth, required all the clergy to open schools in their parishes. The first Irish grammar that ever was composed, was written by him. He also printed, in Dublin, in the year 1631, "a small catechism of one sheet, called *The A. B. C., or the Institution of a Christian*, wherein are the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and some portions of Scripture, containing the sum of the gospel, as namely, Gal. iii. 10—13; John iii. 16—19; 2 Cor. v. 19—21; Acts xiii. 38. For the people never learned anything of Jesus Christ and his merits, but always the fabulous merits of former saints, and of their own good works, sounding in their ears, to make their priests lords of all." This catechism, as A. C. further describes it, contained also "some short prayers of scripture-sentences; for they knew not what belonged to prayer, but to mumble out upon their beads *Ave-Marys* and *Pater-Nosters* innumerable, (whoever were present,) with as little reverence and devotion as understanding and profit." There were also "some short graces before and after meat, for the Irish never did crave a blessing, nor return any thanks after meat, any more than beasts; only if a priest or friar be

present he saith *Benedicite*, and *Benedicamus Domino*, and thus mutters over his *Pater-Noster* in his throat, more like a conjuror than a praying christian."

This catechism was printed in English and Irish, on alternate pages, and the bishop "sent it abroad throughout all the diocese; and, by the blessing of God, it was like to his abundance of good, for the poor ignorant creatures began to hear some what of God in their own language, and to learn the creed and the Lord's prayer all in their own tongue, which they never could say before,—for they were never taught."

But bishop Bedell's greatest and best undertaking was the preparation of a complete translation of the Bible. He knew that a blessing accompanied the word of God; that without it, the exhortation to search the scriptures was but an empty sound; that the missionary efforts of the primitive christians were assisted by the dissemination of the scriptures in the languages of the nations to which they preached; and that, at the reformation, a wonderful degree of light had been diffused by the operation of the written word. Moreover, experience inclined him to believe that such a labour would not be in vain in Ireland. The New Testament, and our book of Common Prayer, had been already translated into Irish; and the minister of Cavan, (whose manuscript has already been so often quoted in this memoir,) thus describes the effects thereby produced upon the people:—"I have seen many of them express as much joy at the reading of a psalm, or of a chapter in the New Testament in the Irish tongue, as was discovered by the people of the captivity, when Ezra read the law unto them, (Neh. vii.) or as our progenitors did in the reign of Henry the eighth, when they would go many miles to hear a chapter read in the English tongue."

It was an object very near to the heart of our bishop to give the Bible to the people, whole and entire; and he sought everywhere, and consulted the wisest and best men of his acquaintance, in order to find a person worthy

to be intrusted with so momentous a work. At length, having advised with archbishop Usher, sir James Ware, and other approved judges, he fixed upon Murtach King, an aged man, a convert from popery, and one whom he describes as "a man of that known sufficiency, for the Irish especially, either in prose or verse, as few are his matches in the kingdom." The bishop admitted Mr. King to holy orders, and placed him in a benefice, and then committed to his care the work of translating the Holy Scriptures, "commending him to God with prayer and a blessing."

The bishop himself superintended this anxious labour, for which care he saw the greater occasion, because Mr. King translated from an English version, and not from the Hebrew Scriptures. Daily, therefore, after dinner or supper, he examined a chapter of the new translation, and compared and corrected it by the English, the Hebrew, the Greek Septuagint, and Diodati's Italian version. Thus, in a very few years, the translation was completed in a satisfactory manner; and the bishop made arrangements with a printer for the execution of the work, taking upon himself the whole expense.

But enmity to this holy undertaking was excited in powerful quarters, by a bold assertion that the translator was a weak and incompetent person, whose labours would be despised by the people. A young man named Baily obtained authority from the court to take possession of Mr. King's living, and the ejected minister was fined and imprisoned, without any just cause being alleged. The bishop was indignant that so important a work should be impeded, and in so oppressive a manner; and in a letter to the lord deputy of Ireland, he thus declared his sentiments on the subject:—

..... My Lord, if I understand what is right divine or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs; which, if they reached only to Mr. King's person, were of less consideration; but when through his side, that great work, the translation of God's book, so necessary for both his majesty's kingdoms, is

mortally wounded, pardon me, I beseech your lordship, if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service; or what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your lordship have gained if he had died (as it was almost a miracle he did not) under arrest, and had been at once deprived of living, liberty, and life. God hath relieved him, and given your lordship means, upon right information, to remedy with one word all inconveniences. For conclusion; good my lord, give me leave a little to apply the parable of Nathan to king David, to this purpose. If the wayfaring man\* that is come to us, (for such he is, having never yet been settled in one place,) have so sharp a stomach that he must be provided with pluralities, sith there are herds and flocks plenty, suffer him not, I beseech you, under the colour of the king's name, to take the cosset [home-fed] ewe of a poor man, to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the heavenly Physician to give your lordship health of soul and body. I rest, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant in Christ Jesus.

*December 1, 1638.*

WILL. KILMORE.

The distressing but unavoidable consequence of the shameful proceedings complained of in the above letter, was an interruption of the printing of the Irish Bible. But the bishop's mind was intent upon the work, and he resolved, if it could not be done otherwise, to set up a press in his own house, and there to accomplish his purpose. The rebellion alone prevented him from carrying this project into effect. In the mean while, he employed himself in translating some of Leo's sermons, and three of Chrysostom's homilies on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, which he printed, together with a new edition of his catechism, in English and Irish. And although the good bishop did not live to see the whole Bible dispersed amongst the native Irish, the hand of a superior Providence preserved the manuscript from the general devastation which soon followed. Many years after, it was printed under more favourable auspices, at the expense of

-\* Meaning Mr. Baily.

that christian philosopher, the honourable Robert Boyle; and still it bears glad tidings of good things, and publishes salvation upon the Irish mountains, to all who are willing to receive the ingrafted word which is able to save their souls.

The following extract of a letter, found amongst Mr. Boyle's correspondence, will give some further particulars relative to the first translation of the Bible into the Irish language.

THE BISHOP OF MEATH TO ———

*December 14, 1685.*

..... As for an historical account of the version, I dare not undertake to tell the world that it is impartially done from the original, having no knowledge of the language of my own country; all that I can add concerning it, is only this, (which, if Mr. Boyle thinks fit, may be further enlarged in its exterior dress, but very little as to the substance,) that in the convocation held at Dublin, 1634, there were no small debates about the version of the Bible, and the liturgy of the church into the Irish tongue, for the benefit and instruction of the natives; Dr. Bedell, bishop of Kilmore, being for the affirmative, and Dr. Bramhall, bishop of Derry, opposing. The reasons of the former were drawn from the principles of theology, and the good of souls; of the latter, from politics and maxims of state, and especially from an act of parliament, passed in this kingdom in the reign of king Henry viii. for obliging the natives to learn the English tongue. However, the reasons of bishop Bedell were thought so satisfactory, (especially being countenanced by the authority of the primate Usher,) that the convocation thought fit to pass two canons concerning it; the one, that the minister should read the liturgy in Irish, where most of the people were so, (can. 8) the other, for the parish clerk to accompany the minister, in reading his part of the service in Irish, (can. 66.)

Upon these foundations the pious bishop Bedell resolved to make further superstructures; and accordingly set himself to the version of the Old Testament into the Irish tongue, (for the New had been done before, at the expenses of sir William Usher, clerk of the council of Ireland, and by the care of Dr. Daniel, who was after made archbishop of Tuam, in

Ireland,) taking to his assistance one Mr. King and Mr. Dennis Sheridan, both Irishmen and clergymen, and excellently skilled in the language of their own country, whose office it was to translate the then English version into Irish, whilst the bishop (who was excellently learned in the Hebrew and the Irish languages), revised the whole work, comparing it with the original, and either expunged or added, as he saw it nearer or more remote from the original. The work, thus happily finished, was left by bishop Bedell with Mr. Sheridan, the translator, (who survived him,) and was by him delivered to the late bishop of Meath, Dr. Henry Jones, by him communicated to Dr. Andrew Sall, from whom I received it before his death, and gave it to your predecessor, Dr. Marsh; and what fate it hath met with since, he and others, whose hands it hath passed, can best relate.

Some part of this narrative, I have read in the life of bishop Bedell, lately published by one Clogy, who is somewhere beneficed in England, (if he be alive), and married the said bishop's daughter, and may be more particular if consulted. If I have mistaken anything, (as perhaps I may as to the name of King, for I have not the book by me), that book will rectify it; the remainder, relating to Mr. Sheridan, you may receive a more ample account of from the bishop of Kilmore, who is his son. . . .

(Signed) ANTHONY MIDENSIS.

The example of bishop Bedell was such as his clergy might advantageously follow. He constantly attended service at the cathedral, usually taking part of the duty himself, when he was observed to "read the prayer-book with great reverence and holy affection." When he entered the church, it was manifest from his demeanour that he remembered the counsel of the preacher; *Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God.* He considered that conformity consisted in an invariable adherence to the rules and observances of the church; and it is related that when the curate of another parish came to officiate in the cathedral, and made some additions to the collects, the bishop, observing that this occurred more than once, went from his place to the reader's desk, and, having

openly suspended the transgressor in the face of the congregation, proceeded with the services himself. It was also his custom, when he performed the service, to read the psalms and anthems throughout, because he could find no direction in the rubric to authorize the recital of alternate verses by the minister and people. A. C. further informs us that "he did not like instrumental music in churches."

He preached twice every Sunday in his cathedral, taking his subject from the appointed epistle or gospel. Before the sermon, in the afternoon, he catechised the younger part of the congregation. His voice is described as being low and mournful, the gravity of his countenance and behaviour secured attention, and the instructions which he delivered were excellent and scriptural. "I have heard him," observes A. C., "say these words in the pulpit, after his entrance upon his text:—I beseech the Lord to guide my tongue, that I may, as I desire, rather be his instrument to further your inward profit in these holy mysteries, than seek to please your ears with a filed speech and flourish of words,—no, ye shall not look for it at my hand; if I could afford it, little would I care for delighting; if I may teach and move, I desire to be no better a rhetorician."

Few portions of his sermons have been preserved, and even those are fragments of discourses preached on particular occasions, which, from the nature of their subjects, can only give a partial view of the usual tone and character of his pulpit instructions, when he ministered amongst the poor and ignorant Irish. Yet even in them may be discerned a plainness of style, earnestness of address, moderation in controversy, and a continual appeal to the scriptures as the fountain of sacred knowledge; qualities which go a great way towards ensuring a profitable ministry of the word.

In one of these sermons, intended to allay the religious feuds which agitated the Irish House of Commons at the time when it was preached, he says:—



Give me leave, right worshipful and beloved brethren and sisters, to speak freely my mind unto you. I know right well that I shall incur the reproof of divers, yet I will never the more, for that, spare to utter my conscience. I hope wise men will assent, or show me better. For my part I have been long of this mind, that many, in their sermons and writings, are to blame for their manner of dealing with the adversaries of their opinions, when they give reins to their tongues and pens, to railing and reproachful speeches, and think they have done well, when they exceed or equal them in this trade; wherein to have the better is indeed to be the worse: and, alleging that text for themselves, that *a fool is to be answered according to his folly*, [Prov. xxvi. 5.] they do not consider that other, where such manner of answer is forbidden, whereby the answerer becometh like him. Prov. xxvi. 4.

And this is yet more to be blamed, because sometimes all reasons are laid by, and nothing is soundly refuted, but only hot words are given, yea, and with a misconceiving, or misreporting at least, of their opinions, and making every thing worse than it is; which many times ariseth upon the ambiguity of words not used in the like sense by both sides. What then? Do I approve of tolerations and unions with errors and heresies? Truly I wish not to live so long. And yet, as our sins are, and our folly too, to fall together by the ears about small matters amongst ourselves, there is just cause to fear it. But yet [in] such points as may be reconciled, saving the truth, I see not what should move us to hold off in them, and why we may not seek to agree in word, as we do in meaning. For the rest, their purpose and endeavours shall deserve thanks, who, bringing them to the fewest and narrowest terms, shall set down how far we are to join with our dissenting brethren, and where for ever to dissent; that so controversies being handled without the vain flourish of swelling words, and (like proportions) our opinions being set down in the least terms, men may know what to bend their wits to, and where again to plant their arguments, not, as many do, roving always at random; but may always remember to imitate Christ's meekness, and to deal with arguments rather. Let us not envy the papists and other heretics the glory and pre-eminence in railing, wherein the more they

excel, the more unlike they are to Christ, whose pattern is of meekness; *Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.*

In another part of the sermon, after stating that “our calling is to deal with errors, not to disgrace the man with scolding words,” he thus proceeds:—

And this is my poor opinion concerning our dealing with the papists themselves, perchance differing from the practice of men of great note in Christ’s family,—Mr. Luther, and Mr. Calvin, and others. But yet we must live by rules, not examples; and they were men who, perhaps by complexion or otherwise, were given over too much to anger and heat. Sure I am, the rule of the apostle [2 Tim. ii. 25,] is plain, even of such as are the slaves of satan, that we must with lenity instruct them, waiting that when out of his snare they should recover a sound mind to do God’s will.

But now, when men agreeing with ourselves in the main, (yea, and in profession likewise enemies to popery,) shall, varying never so little from us in points of less consequence, be thereupon censured as favourers of popery, and other errors; when mole-hills shall be made mountains, and unbrotherly terms given, alas! methinks this course savours not of meekness; nay, it would hurt even a good cause, thus to handle it; for where such violence is, ever there is error to be suspected. Affection and heat are the greatest enemies that can be to soundness of judgment, or exactness of comprehension. He that is troubled with passion, is not fitly disposed to judge of truth.

This chapter may fitly conclude with one more passage, in which he speaks of popery as signified by Babylon in the book of Revelation, and enforces the exhortation, *Come out of her, my people* [Rev. xviii. 4.] After having enjoined the congregation, whom he addressed as “lords, fathers, and brethren,” to help their friends, followers, and tenants out of Babylon, looking to the examples of Abraham, Joshua, and Cornelius, who are “praised in the scriptures for propagating the knowledge and fear of God” in their families and around them, he adds:

But shall you not carry away something for yourselves also; yes, verily, take to yourselves this voice of our Saviour, *Come*

*out of Babylon.* You will say, we have done it already; God be thanked we are good christians, good protestants, some of us preachers, and that call upon others to come out of Bábylon: but if St. Paul prayed the converted Corinthians *to be reconciled to God*, [2 Cor. v. 2,] and St. John, writing to believers, sets down the record of God touching his Son, *that they might believe in the name of the Son of God*, [1 John v. 13,] why may not I exhort in Christ's name and words, even those that are come out of Babylon, to come out of her. He that persuades another to that which he doth already, in persuading encourageth him, and puts him on in his performance; but if there be any yet unresolved, and halting or hanging between two [opinions,] (as the people did in Elias's time,) [1 Kings xviii. 21,] that present their bodies at such meetings as this is, when their hearts are perhaps at Rome or nowhere, if any are in some points rightly informed and cleared, and in others doubtful, to such Christ speaks, *Come out of her, my people*; press on by prayer, conference, reading, if Christ's voice be to be heard; if Rome be Babylon, come out of her.

And let it be spoken with as little offence as it is delight: we that seem to be the forwardest in reformation, are not yet so come out of Babylon, as that we have not many shameful badges of her captivity, witness her impropriations, &c. . . . . Let each of us, therefore, account it as spoken to himself, *Come out of her, my people.*

In this journey let us not trouble and cast stumbling-blocks before God's people, that are ready to come out; or hinder one another with dissensions in matters either inexplicable, or unprofitable; let it have some pardon, if some be even so forward in flying from Babylon, as they fear to go back to take their own goods for haste; and let it not be blamed or uncharitably censured, if some come in the rear, and would leave none of Christ's people behind them: no man reacheth his hand to another whom he would lift out of a ditch, but he stoops to him. Our ends immediate are not the same, but yet they meet in one final intention; the one hates Babylon, and the other loves and pities Christ's people: the one believes the angel that cast the millstone into the sea, in the end of this chapter, with that word *so shall Babylon rise no more*; the other fears the threatening of our Saviour against such as scandalize any of the little ones believing in Him, that it is

better for such a one to have *a millstone hanged upon his neck, and be cast into the sea himself.*

Finally, let us all beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to give us wisdom and opportunity to further his work, and to give success unto the same Himself, to hasten the judgment of Babylon, to bring his people out of this bondage, that we with them and all his saints in the church triumphant, may thereupon sing a joyful hallelujah, as is expressed in the next chapter. Salvation, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto the Lord our God, Amen.—Hallelujah.

### CHAPTER III.

#### HIS PRIVATE CHARACTER; THE REBELLION; HIS DEATH.

The pastoral staff, the keys of heav'n  
 To wield awhile in gray-hair'd might;  
 Then from his cross to spring forgiv'n,  
 And follow Jesus out of sight.—*Christian Year.*

THE domestic habits and private deportment of bishop Bedell were such as must increase the veneration with which the reader may have been induced by the preceding account to regard him. In a man's own home, after all, is the grand trial of his piety and virtue, and by his conduct there he shows whether his public proceedings are directed by a regard for the honour of God, or by the love of worldly authority and human applause.

The devotional exercises of his closet are known only to that Being to whom they were addressed. A journal, which might perhaps have admitted us into his secret chamber, had it been preserved, was lost with his other papers in the rebellion. But it is recorded that he prayed with his family three times a-day; first, in the early morning; again, "when the cloth was laid for dinner, kneeling down at the head of the table, he prayed the

second time ;” and once more he commended their mutual wants to God after supper. This duty, as well as that of asking God’s blessing before meals, he always performed himself, using a set form of words, but repeating it without a book. “ He never rose from dinner or supper without having a chapter read, which he often expounded.”

The obligation of the sabbath was in his estimation moral and perpetual, and he accounted it to be a merciful institution, designed for the spiritual welfare of man. To this important end he carefully devoted it, and after having preached twice, and catechised young persons once in the public services of the church, he usually reviewed the subjects of his sermons in the bosom of his family, and concluded the holy day with a psalm of thanksgiving and with prayer.

These, and all his other pious employments, were dictated by the exalted views of religion to which he had attained. In his eyes Christianity was not so much a system of opinions, or a series of forms, as a divine principle renewing and transforming the heart and life. And he often repeated the saying of the ancient father, Augustine, “ I look for fruit, not leaves.”

To the end of his days he was a diligent student, particularly of the Holy Scriptures, and he thus became as familiar with the Hebrew original and the Greek septuagint, as with the English version. It was his daily practice to read in the Hebrew Bible the psalms appointed by our common prayer ; or if his son, or any other person skilled in Hebrew, were present, he read one verse out of the Hebrew and rendered it into Latin, and then his companion did the same with the next verse, until they had finished the allotted portion. He made an extensive collection of critical expositions of the scriptures, and wrote paraphrases and sermons upon those parts of the Bible which are read in the evening service. These and his other manuscripts, bulky enough to fill a large box, were lost in the Irish rebellion of 1641. From the general and

wanton destruction which then took place, a valuable Hebrew manuscript was happily rescued by the exertions of one of his Irish converts, and is to this day preserved in the library of Emmanuel college, Cambridge.

He wrote several controversial works, particularly against popery, the corruptions of which he had seen too plainly at Venice, and afterwards had constantly before his eyes in Ireland. Amongst these was a treatise in answer to the questions, Where was the protestant's religion before Luther? and what became of our ancestors that died in popery? This work, in which, in answer to the former question, he traced up the principles of our faith to the days of the apostles, and the authority of scripture, would have been a valuable legacy to the church. Archbishop Usher urged him to have it printed; and with that request he intended to comply, and was only prevented by the rebellion, which terminated that and all his other undertakings. In the absence of the work itself, we find a brief answer to the question in one of his letters to Mr. Waddesworth. "The state of the church under the Roman obedience," he says, "and that part which is reformed, is like a field overgrown all with weeds, thistles, tares, cockle; some part whereof is weeded and cleansed, some part remains as it was before; which makes such a difference to the view as if it were not the same corn. But being considered, it will be found that all the difference is from the weeds, which remain there, and here are taken away." From the same correspondence we may also safely infer, with regard to the latter question, that while he would declare his conviction, that the system of popery was dishonourable to God, he would own his persuasion that salvation would not be denied to holy men in that communion. In his sermon on the text, *Come out of her, my people*, he represents those very words to be a plain argument, that in the Romish church "there are many not only good, moral, and civil honest men, but good christians, not redeemed only, but in the possession of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Bishop Bedell corresponded with many of the English divines, as well as with learned men of other countries. With the latter he communicated in the Latin language, which he was allowed to write with considerable elegance. Some of his letters were at one period devoted to the charitable design of uniting the Calvinists and Lutherans, an object towards which he also contributed twenty pounds yearly, being a zealous supporter of Dury's plan of reconciliation\*.

His recreations were of a most simple kind, consisting chiefly of the exercise of walking, and the interesting pleasures afforded by his garden, to the cultivation of which he applied some information acquired during his residence in Italy.

He was naturally endued with great bodily strength, and was tall and graceful in person. He followed the ancient custom of wearing a long and broad beard, and his general appearance and demeanour were such as to command respect. His dress is thus described by A. C.:—"His habit was grave, in a long stuff gown, not costly but comely; his stockings woollen, his shoes not much higher behind than before." He studiously avoided all appearance of state, usually riding on horseback, or walking, when he visited Dublin, attended by a servant, except when public occasions made it necessary for him to pay more attention to outward appearance. He possessed a high and fearless spirit, and boldly remonstrated with those whom he saw neglecting their duty. The weight of years which he bore, combined with his personal character, gave peculiar force to his admonitions. But vigorous as he was in resisting those evils which were dishonourable to the church, and to religion, he was calm and patient under personal affronts, and was not easily offended.

To remind him of the need he had of being cleansed and purified in heart by the Spirit of God, he chose an

\* Some account of the designs of Mr. Dury, often called Duræus, may be seen in Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*.

ingenious device, consisting of a flaming crucible, with a Hebrew motto, signifying, *Take from me all my tin*, in allusion to Isaiah i. 25. The reason for choosing those particular words was, that the Hebrew word for *tin* is *bedil*.

He practised a liberal hospitality. His conversation was agreeable and instructive, but in formal society he usually spoke little. This circumstance was once noticed to archbishop Usher, by some one who met him at the table of the earl of Strafford, the lord deputy of Ireland. The archbishop made answer to the gentleman, "Broach him, and you will find that he contains good liquor;" upon which, some topic of a serious nature was proposed, and bishop Bedell treated the question with so much skill and learning, that he completely puzzled him with whom he was conversing, to the no-small entertainment of the company.

His bounty to the poor won for him the titles of "patron" and "patriarch," by which A. C. informs us that he was familiarly known amongst the Irish. Many indigent families were constantly supplied with food from his kitchen, and at the season of Christmas, great numbers assembled in his house, and sat down to meat at the same table with him.

It has been already stated, that of his four children, two died in infancy. The others, being sons, grew up to man's estate, and survived their parents. The eldest became a clergyman, upon whom his father conferred a benefice of 80*l.* a-year, in which he laboured with zeal and faithfulness. To his second son he gave a small estate, worth about 60*l.* a-year, which was all that he had to leave. After the rebellion and the death of their father, they both came into England, where the eldest became minister of Rattlesden, in Suffolk. Soon after, the younger, Ambrose, returned to Ireland, and served as a captain in the regiment of colonel Hill.

His excellent wife, the comfort and support of his manhood and age, terminated her earthly pilgrimage



about three years before the time of his own departure. The following account of her death and character is supplied by the author of the manuscript life, who knew her well:—

“On the 26th day of March, 1683, it pleased God to visit my lord of Kilmore’s dear consort, Mrs. Bedell, with a lethargy, of which she died; who, for humility, virtue, and godliness, was inferior to none of her sex or age, and in her conjugal relation, superior to most. Her adorning and dress was not that outward, but the hidden man of the heart, in things not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price; as of old time, the holy women that trusted in God adorned themselves.

“It is recorded of Sarah, for her commendation to all posterity, that she once called Abraham her husband, lord. But Mrs. Bedell was never heard to speak of him, nor to him, but [she] called him “my lord,” and never came into his presence before any persons whatsoever, but with as much respectful reverence as to any honourable stranger\*.

“My lord himself preached at her funeral, upon these words of Ecclesiastes, vii. 1.—*A good name is better than precious ointment*; and with that moderation of affection, and yet just commendation of her worth, that there were few dry eyes in the church all the while. Happy were all Adam’s posterity if they were so equally yoked; I never saw the least jar or distaste between them in word or deed, in all the space of those years that I lived with them.

“He buried her in the remotest part of the south side of the church-yard of the cathedral of Kilmore, that she might rest in her grave till the resurrection.”

We now come to that lamentable event which brought down the gray hairs of this excellent bishop to the grave.

\* It may fairly be questioned whether these formal indications of respect might not interfere, if commonly practised, with the free and unreserved familiarity proper to such a relationship.

In 1641, when England was unhappily agitated by civil dissensions, the popish bishops and priests in Ireland, agreeing with the chieftains, fixed upon it as a favourable opportunity for clearing the land of all its British inhabitants, and seizing the estates which their ancestors had forfeited.

Their plot was formed in profound secrecy, and but for the workings of private friendship in the breast of one of the conspirators, would doubtless have been carried into complete effect. The rebels had agreed to surprise the castle of Dublin, which was well stored with arms and ammunition, and only manned by a few careless warders. But, in the night before the time appointed for the execution of this plot, a communication was received by a protestant, a convert from popery, warning him of the impending danger. This person immediately gave notice to the government, and measures were taken for securing both the castle and the city.

But although Dublin was saved, and thus became a place of refuge for all who could reach it, the rebels commenced and carried on their work of carnage without opposition, in other parts of Ireland. The province of Ulster, which contains the diocese of Kilmore, was the scene of most dreadful barbarities. The popish population rose in a mass. Men, women, and children, raised their hands to execute the work of wanton destruction. Throughout that district a general cry was heard,—“Spare neither woman nor child:—The English are meat for dogs:—Let not one drop of English blood be left within the kingdom.” Their lips did but proclaim what their hands were perpetrating. Thousands were burned in their houses, multitudes were thrown into the rivers to perish, others were mangled and left to die miserably upon the highways, and some were thrust into dungeons without food; they were buried alive, they were dragged by the neck through bogs and thickets, they were hung up by the arms, and then cut and maimed, they were

boiled to death, they were stoned. A few were tempted by promises of preservation to imbrue their hands in the blood of their relatives, and then were miserably slain themselves\*.

One protestant habitation alone, in the county of Cavan, remained untouched by fire or sword, or other instrument of desolation, for several weeks. It was the abode of bishop Bedell, whose holy life, benevolence, and charity, touched even the stern and cruel hearts of that infuriate people; and often did they declare that he should be the very last Englishman whom they would expel from their shores.

Multitudes of wretched and terrified beings flocked to his palace, hoping that its precincts might be held sacred, and that all who were near him might be spared. His house and out-buildings, the church and church-yard, were soon filled with fugitives, with whom he shared such provisions as he possessed.

He turned that awful period to the most profitable account, by exhorting the people around him to repent and make their peace with God, that they might be ready for the hour which seemed to be at hand. On the first Sunday, he preached to them on the third psalm, directing them to the only sure refuge in time of trouble. *But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. . . . I laid me down and slept; I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people that have set themselves against me round about. . . . Salvation belongeth unto the Lord, and thy blessing is upon thy people.*—Verses 3, 5, 6, 8.

On the next Sunday he took for his text the words of Micah, (vii. 8—10.) *Rejoice not against me, O mine*

\* According to bishop Burnet, a popish writer boasted that upwards of 200,000 perished in this massacre. The lowest computation is that of Hume, who estimates the number of victims at less than 40,000. But it is impossible to calculate with any accuracy in such a case. Mrs. Macaulay states, in her *History of England*, that the rebels themselves computed that they had slain 154,000, in the province of Ulster.

*enemy; when I fall I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause and execute judgment for me. He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God?* In these sermons, the bishop spoke with the eloquence of truth; they seemed to be uttered and heard on the brink of the grave, and made a deep impression upon the hearts of all present.

In the midst of the rebellion, when some of the conspirators of Cavan began to be apprehensive of ultimate defeat and punishment, and wished to forward a statement of their grievances to government, as preparatory to some arrangement, they applied to no other than bishop Bedell, who committed to paper what they desired. He yielded the more readily out of pity towards a few of the English, who, having hitherto maintained some strong-holds, were in danger of falling victims to starvation. The remonstrance, however, produced no effect.

While these things were in agitation, the popish bishop of Kilmore, Swiney by name, came to Cavan. His brother had been supported and provided for by bishop Bedell, having been converted by him from the Romish religion. Swiney professed a wish to lodge in the bishop's house, in order to protect him from injury. But the excellent prelate declined the visit in a Latin letter, worthy of his pen, of which the following is a translation:—

TO MY REVEREND AND LOVING BROTHER, DR. SWINEY.

Reverend Brother,—I am sensible of your civility, in offering to protect me by your presence in the midst of this tumult; and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you: but there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me. My house is strait, and there is a great number of miserable people, of all ranks and ages, and of both sexes, that have fled hither as to a sanctuary; besides that some of them are

sick, amongst whom my own son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest, is the difference of our way of worship: I do not say of our religion, for I have ever thought, and have published it in my writings, that we have one common christian religion. Under our present miseries we comfort ourselves with the reading of the holy scriptures, with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our native language, and with the singing of psalms; and since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not yourself; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us; and under that colour those murderers would break in upon us, who, after they have robbed us of all that belong to us, would, in conclusion, think they did God good service by our slaughter. For my own part, I am resolved to trust to the divine protection. To a christian, and a bishop, that is now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter; on the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the people, under an anathema, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so often beaten, spoiled, and stript, it will be acceptable to God, honourable to yourself, and happy to the people, if they obey you: but if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, reverend brother, I do heartily commend you.

Yours in Christ,

*November 2, 1641.*

WILL. KILMORE.

About three weeks after, he wrote a letter of spiritual counsel and advice to a devout protestant lady, named Dillon, who had married a son of the earl of Roscommon, under a false impression that he was of the same religion. Her husband, to her great grief, had brought up all their children in the Romish church, and was now a partner in the rebellion. Deeply distressed by these combined circumstances, she sent to her neighbour and pastor, requesting him to furnish her with some special instructions suitable to her present affliction; in reply to which, he wrote the following memorial of her privileges and duties:—

You desire, as I am informed (dear sister in Christ Jesus,) that I would send you some short memorial, to put you in mind

how to carry yourself in this sorrowful time. I will do it willingly; the more, because with one and the same labour, I shall both satisfy you, and recollect my own thoughts also to the like performance of mine own duty; and bethinking myself how I might best accomplish it, there came to my mind that short rule of our life, which the apostle mentions in his epistle to Titus, and whereof you have been a diligent hearer in the school of grace, where he reduceth the whole practice of christianity into three heads, of living soberly, justly and godly: this last directing our carriage towards God, the middlemost towards our neighbour, and the foremost towards ourselves. Now since this is a direction for our whole life, it seems to me that we have no more to do at any time, but to con this lesson more perfectly, with some particular application of such parts of it, as are most suitable to the present occasions. And as to Sobriety first, (under which the virtues of humility, modesty, temperance, chastity, and contentedness are contained,) since this is a time, wherein, as the prophet saith, *The Lord of Hosts calleth to weeping and mourning, and pulling off the hair, and girding with sackcloth*, you shall, by my advice, conform yourself to those that by the hand of God suffer such things. Let your apparel and dress be mournful, as I doubt not but that your mind is; your diet sparing and coarse, rather than full and liberal; frame yourself to the indifferency, whereof the apostle speaketh, *In whatsoever state you shall be, therewith to be content; to be full, and to be hungry; to abound and to want*. Remember now that which is the lot of others, you know not how soon it may be your own. Learn to despise and defy the vain and falsely called wealth of this world, whereof you now see we have so casual and uncertain a possession.

This for Sobriety, the first part of the lesson pertaining to yourself.

Now for Justice, which respects others, (and containeth the virtues of honour to superiors, discreet and equal government of inferiors, peaceableness to all, meekness, mercy, just dealing in matters of getting and spending, gratitude, liberality, just speech and desires,) God's judgments being in the earth, the inhabitants of the world should learn righteousness, as the prophet speaketh. Call to mind, therefore, and bethink you, if in any of these you have failed, and turn your feet to God's

testimonies; certainly these times are such, wherein you may be afflicted, and say with the Psalmist, *Horror hath taken hold of me, and rivers of tears run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy laws.* Rebelling against superiors, misleading inferiors, not only by example but by compulsion, laying their hand to them that were at peace with them, unjustly spoiling, and unthankfully requiting those that had showed them kindness, no faith or truth in their promises; judge by the way, of the school that teacheth Christ thus: are these his doings? as for those that suffer, I am well assured, I shall not need to inform you, or stir you up to mercy and compassion. That which is done in this kind, is done to Christ himself, and shall be put upon account in your reckoning, and rewarded accordingly at his glorious appearance.

The last and principal part of our lesson remains, which teacheth how to behave ourselves Godly, or religiously: (to this belong, first, the duties of God's inward worship, as fear, love, and faith in God; then outward, as invocation, the holy use of his word and sacraments, name and sabbaths). The apostle makes it the whole end and work for which we were set in this world, to seek the Lord; yet, in public affliction, we are specially invited thereto, as it is written of Jehoshaphat, when a great multitude came to invade him, *He set his face to seek the Lord, and called the people to a solemn fast.* So the church professeth in the prophet Isaiah, *In the way of thy judgments, Lord, we have waited for thee: the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With my soul have I desired thee in the night, yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early.* In this public calamity, therefore, it is our duty to turn to Him that smiteth us, and to humble ourselves under his mighty hand; to conceive a reverend and religious fear towards Him that only by turning away his countenance can thus trouble us, against that of man which can do no more but kill the body.

Again, to renew our love to our heavenly Father, that now offereth Himself to us as to children, and to give a proof of that love that we bear to our Saviour, in the keeping of his sayings, hating in comparison of Him, and competition with Him, father, mother, children, goods, and life itself, which is the condition and proof of his disciples: and, above all, to receive, and to reinforce our faith and affiance, which is now

brought unto the trial of the fiery furnace, and of the lions' den. O that it might be found to our honour, praise, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ. In the mean space, even now let us be partakers of Christ's sufferings, and hear Him from heaven encouraging us, *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.*

Touching prayer, we have this gracious invitation, *Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee*; the example of all God's saints, and of our Saviour in his agony; to this belong the humble confession of our sins, with earnest request of pardon; the complaint of our misery and danger, with request of succour and protection; we have besides the intercession of our Advocate with the Father, the cry of the innocent blood that hath been cruelly shed, and the Lord's own interesting Himself in the cause, so as we may say with the Psalmist, *Arise, O God: plead thine own cause, remember how the foolish man (yea the man of sin,) reproacheth Thee daily; forget not the voice of thine enemies; the tumult of those that rise against Thee, increaseth continually.* That psalm, and many others, as the 6, 13, 35, 43, 71, 74, 79, 80, 88, 92, 94, 102, 115, 123, 130, 140, 142, do give precedents of prayers in such times as these; and the prayer of Daniel, and Ezra ix., of Asa and Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xiv. and xxvi. 12. The stories of David's flight before Absalom, and Jehoshaphat's behaviour when the enemies came against him, of Hezekiah's in Sennacherib's invasion, Isaiah xxxvii., and the whole book of Esther, are fit scriptures now to be read, that through the patience and comfort of them we might have hope.

Now, because we know not how soon we may be called to sanctify God's name, by making profession thereof, you may perhaps desire to know what to say in that day. You may openly profess your not doubting of any article of the catholic faith, shortly laid down in the Creed, or more largely laid down in the holy Scriptures, but that you consent not to certain opinions, which are no points of faith, which have been brought into common belief, without warrant of Scriptures, or pure antiquity, as namely:—

That it is of necessity to salvation to be under the pope.

That the Scriptures ought not to be read of the common people.

That the doctrine of holy Scripture is not sufficient to salvation.



That the service of God ought to be in a language not understood of the people.

That the communion should not be administered to them in both kinds.

That the bread in the Lord's supper, is transubstantiated into his body.

That He is there sacrificed for the quick and the dead.

That there is any purgatory besides Christ's blood.

That our good works can merit heaven.

That the saints hear our prayers, and know our hearts.

That images are to be worshipped.

That the pope is infallible, and can command angels.

That we ought to pray to the dead and for the dead.

In all these, notwithstanding, you may profess your teachableness, if by sound reasons out of God's word, you shall be convinced of the truth of them: and because we know not how far it will please God to call us to make resistance against sin, whether unto blood itself or not, it shall be wisdom for us to prepare ourselves to the last care of a godly life, which is to die godly. This the apostle Paul calleth *sleeping in Jesus*, implying thereby our faith in Him, our being found in his work, and our committing our souls into his hands with peace. Such a sweet and heavenly sleep was that of St. Stephen, whose last words for himself were, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*, and for his tormentors, *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge*; wherewith I will end this writing, and wish to end my life, when the will of God shall be, to whose gracious protection, dear sister, I do heartily commit you.

November 23, 1641.

Such were the consoling reflections which possessed his own heart, and which, upon occasion, naturally flowed forth to alleviate the anguish of others. From the 23rd of October, the day when the insurrection commenced, down to the 18th of December, the bishop and his household were suffered to remain in security within his own walls. But on that day, being commanded by the rebels to send away the people who had resorted to him for protection, he refused to obey their orders. And when they assured him, in reply, that much as they loved and respected him, more, indeed, than all the English whom

they had ever seen, they would yet be constrained to execute the orders of their council of state by removing him from his house, if he would not dismiss those unhappy beings; he only answered in the language of David and of the friends of St. Paul, *Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seemeth good unto Him; the will of the Lord be done.*—2 Sam. x. 12; Acts xxi. 14.

When the rebels saw that he could not be persuaded, they took possession of his person, and having set him on horseback, conducted him, together with his sons and Mr. Clogy, to Lochwater\*, a lake about two miles from Kilmore, in which was an isolated ruin, where they placed their prisoners in custody, all except the bishop being at first put in chains. They experienced much humanity at the hands of their keepers, who both supplied them with provisions, and, having released them from their bonds, permitted them to fasten a few boards together, to protect themselves from the inclemency of the season.

They were also allowed to worship God without interruption, and passed their time in such religious employments as were suitable to persons who knew not from day so day whether they were to live or die.

On the day after their imprisonment, being the fourth Sunday in Advent, the bishop preached on the epistle for the day. *Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice. Let your moderation be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand. Be careful for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God. And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.* Phil. iv. 4-7. In this sermon he set before his fellow-prisoners the pattern of the humility and patience of Christ.

On Christmas day he preached on the text,—*When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were*

\* In DR. BERNARD'S *Character of Bishop Bedell*, it is called 'Lough-outré.' Elsewhere it is written *Cloughboure*.

*under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.* Gal. iv., 4, 5. He also administered the communion to the little flock, for which purpose their keepers kindly supplied them with bread and wine.

Mr. William Bedell, the bishop's son, preached on the following Sunday, from the dying words of St. Stephen, (Acts vii. 60,) *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.* And on the last Sunday of their imprisonment, Jan. 2, the sermon was preached by Mr. Clogy, from the song of Simeon, Luke ii. 32-4.

At length, on the 7th of January, (1642,) the bishop, with his sons and Mr. Clogy, were set at liberty, in consequence of an exchange of prisoners; and when he took leave of those who were still detained in the tower, they wept and lamented for his departure.

The rebels, however, would not suffer them to leave that part of the country, although they had promised them permission to retire to Dublin. The bishop, therefore, and his little company, took up their abode in the house of Denis O'Shereden\*, a clergyman and a convert from popery, to whom the rebels paid some respect, because he belonged to one of the most ancient Irish families. The daughters-in-law of our bishop had already taken shelter under the same hospitable roof. Here it was the lot of this aged prelate to pass the short remainder of his days. And truly, says A. C., "never man spent his small remnant of time better, in holy meditations and heavenly preparations for death." On the few concluding sabbaths of his life, it was he who offered up the prayers of the church, and read the lessons, and preached the sermons, when the family assembled for worship. The xliv<sup>th</sup> psalm, the lxxix<sup>th</sup>, and the lxxi<sup>st</sup>, ver. 15-24, supplied the appropriate subjects of three of these discourses; and the last, which he preached January 30th, had for its text the cxliv<sup>th</sup> psalm, upon the seventh verse of which he dwelt with peculiar feeling, seeming to adopt it as his own prayer

\* This is probably the same person who is called Dennis Sheridan, in a letter quoted in a former page.

for deliverance,—*Send thine hand from above; rid me and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children!* These words he repeated again and again, and the thoughts of the little assembly being carried forward to the event for which he prayed, they all melted into tears.

On the next day he was seriously ill, and on the fourth day, believing that he was drawing near his end, he called around him his sons and their wives, and addressed them at intervals, as he was able, after the following scriptural manner:—

I am going the way of all flesh, I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand: knowing, therefore, that shortly I must put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me, I know also, that if this my earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens, a fair mansion in the new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God. Therefore to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain; which increaseth my desire even now to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better than to continue here in all the transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Hearken, therefore, unto the last words of your dying father; I am no more in this world, but ye are in the world; I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, through the all-sufficient merits of Jesus Christ my Redeemer; who ever lives to make intercession for me, who is a propitiation for all my sins, and washed me from them all in his own blood, who is worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power, who hath created all things, and for whose pleasure they are, and were created.

My witness is in heaven, and my record on high, that I have endeavoured to glorify God on earth, and in the ministry of the gospel of his dear Son, which was committed to my trust; I have finished the work which He gave me to do, as a faithful ambassador of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation: Lo, I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, Thou knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy

faithfulness and thy salvation; I have not concealed thy loving-kindness and thy truth from the great congregation of mankind. He is near that justifieth me, that I have not concealed the words of the Holy One; but the words that He gave to me, I have given to you, and ye have received them. I had a desire and resolution to walk before God (in every station of my pilgrimage, from my youth up to this day), in truth and with an upright heart, and to do that which was upright in his eyes, to the utmost of my power; and what things were gain to me formerly, these things I count now loss for Christ; yea, doubtless, and I account all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord; for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and I account them but dung that I may win Christ, and be found in Him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith; that I may know Him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death, I press therefore towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ.

Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ, neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword; though (as ye hear and see) for his sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter: yet in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us; for I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God in Christ Jesus my Lord. Therefore love not the world, nor the things of the world; but prepare daily and hourly for death (that now besiegeth us on every side), and be faithful unto death; that we may meet together joyfully on the right hand of Christ at the last day, and follow the Lamb wheresoever He goeth, with all those that are clothed with white robes in sign of innocency, and palms in their hands in sign of victory; which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more, nor thirst, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat; for

the Lamb that is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

Choose rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, which will be bitterness in the latter end. Look, therefore, for sufferings, and to be daily made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church. What can you look for, but one woe after another, while the man of sin is thus suffered to rage, and to make havoc of God's people at his pleasure, while men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and careful of those whose blood is precious in God's sight, though now shed everywhere like water. If ye suffer for righteousness, happy are ye; be not afraid of their terror, neither be ye troubled; and be in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for his sake. Rejoice, therefore, in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. And if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; the spirit of glory and of Christ resteth on you; on their own part He is evil spoken of, but on your part He is glorified.

God will surely visit you in due time, and return your captivity as the rivers of the south, and bring you back again into your possession in this land, though now for a season (if need be) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; yet ye shall reap in joy, though now ye sow in tears: all our losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages, for my God will supply all your need, according to his riches in glory by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us, above all that we are able to ask or think.

After that he blessed his children, and those that stood about him, in an audible voice, in these words:—

God of his infinite mercy bless you all, and present you holy, and unblamable, and unreprouvable in his sight, that

we may meet together at the right hand of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, with joy unspeakable and full of glory, Amen. To which he added these words:—I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course of my ministry and life together. Though grievous wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the flock, yet I trust the great Shepherd of his flock will save and deliver them out of all places, where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they shall be no more a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them, but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O Lord, I have waited for thy salvation.

And after a little interval, he said,—

I have kept the faith once given to the saints, for the which cause I have also suffered these things; but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed to Him against that day.

Soon after uttering these holy and beautiful words, his speech failed, and he slumbered with little intermission, appearing peaceful and happy to the last. On the 7th of February, about midnight, he was released from the labours and sorrows of this mortal state, and calmly entered into rest.

Two days after his death, his remains were deposited in a grave adjoining that of his wife, in the church-yard of Kilmore\*. Even the rebels showed respect for the deceased, by attending his burial with great solemnity, and their chiefs desired Mr. Clogy to use the office pro-

\* The spot is described in the following extract from the *Memoirs of Richard Cumberland, Esq.*, 1807, vol. i. 376.

“In a small patch of ground, enclosed within stone-walls, adjoining to the church-yard of Kilmore, but not within the pale of the consecrated ground, my father’s corpse was interred beside the grave of the venerable and exemplary bishop Bedell. This little spot, as containing the remains of that good and great man, my father had fenced and guarded with particular devotion; and he had more than once pointed it out to me as his destined grave, saying to me, as I well remember, in the words of the old prophet of Bethel, *When I am dead, then bury me in this sepulchre, wherein the man of God is buried; lay my bones beside his bones.*”

vided by the church; but of this permission he did not avail himself, for fear of awakening the passions of that wild assemblage.

The people testified the honour in which they held this protestant bishop by firing a volley over his grave: they shouted, "Let the last of the English rest in peace;" and a priest who entertained a grateful recollection of the bishop's friendship and virtues, was heard to breathe forth a wish that their souls might be permitted to dwell together in the world to come.

Thus lived and died this excellent prelate, in whom were united some of the highest virtues that can adorn an individual, with a large share of those rare qualifications which might be expected in one who is accounted a primitive and apostolical bishop.

Time has since sped onward. Nearly two centuries have rolled away since the spirit of bishop Bedell forsook its earthly tabernacle, and he relinquished the staff and mitre of his sacred office. Yet still we recur with profit and delight to the records of his holy life; for the lapse of years has no power to abate the lustre of the burning lights which shine with heavenly glory. Distant though his days may have been, we watch with admiration the course of one, whose history so forcibly impresses upon us two such lessons as these:—That we ought to be content in every sphere in which the wisdom of God has seen fit to place us; and that it is our duty to employ our talents, and the opportunities of usefulness which are successively presented to us, to the glory of God and the good of his church, with constancy and zeal. Whether we regard the conduct of the subject of this memoir at Cambridge, or Bury St. Edmund's, or Venice, or Horningsheath, in the university of Dublin, or the diocese of Kilmore, we may discern one or both of these great principles remarkably illustrated.

Reviewing his private life and conversation, or his conduct in important official situations, we shall never look in vain towards him, when we desire to contemplate



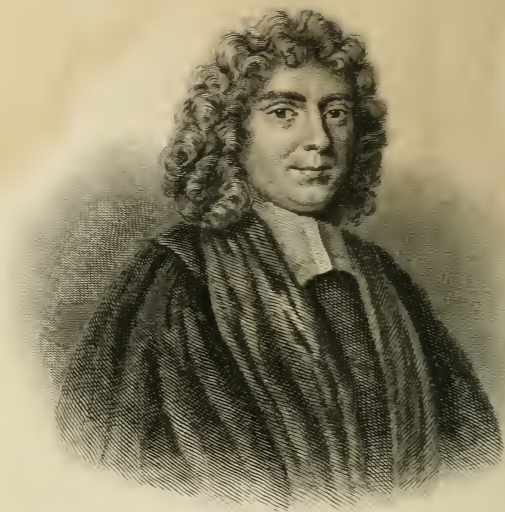
the example of a pious christian, a zealous minister, or an active bishop. And since the spiritual welfare of the members of the church must always be affected by the character of their pastors and teachers, we have good reason to join in the devout aspiration of bishop Burnet:—

May the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls so inspire all that are the overseers of that flock which He purchased with his own blood, that in imitation of all those glorious patterns that are in church history, and of this in the last age that is inferior to very few that any former age produced, they may watch over the flock of Christ, and so feed and govern them, that the mouths of all adversaries may be stopped; that this apostolical order, recovering its primitive spirit and vigour, may be received and obeyed with that same submission and esteem that was paid to it in former times; and that all differences about lesser matters being laid down, peace and truth may again flourish, and the true ends of religion and church-government may be advanced, and that instead of biting, devouring, and consuming one another, as we do, we may all build up one another in our most holy faith.

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Portrait of a man

STANLEY BRIDGES

London: Printed by G. & J. Smith, 1840.

THE LIFE  
OF  
DR. HORNECK,  
1641—1696.

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CHAPTER I.

HIS EARLY LIFE; DISCHARGE OF PASTORAL DUTY.

His sphere, though humble, if that humble sphere  
Shine with his fair example,—and though small  
His influence, if that influence all be spent  
In soothing sorrow, and in quenching strife,  
In aiding helpless indigence, in works  
From which, at least, a grateful few derive  
Some taste of comfort in a world of woe,  
Then let the supercilious great confess  
He serves his country, recompenses well  
The state, beneath the shadow of whose vine  
He sits secure, and in the scale of life  
Holds no ignoble, though a slighted, place.

COWPER'S *Task*.

AMIDST the multitude of valuable pastors who devote their time, their talents, and their industry, to the work of feeding the flock committed to their charge, few comparatively are remembered after the generation in which they live, and vast numbers are almost unknown beyond the immediate sphere of their labours. The incidents connected with their history comprise little more than the common routine of ministerial exertion, the quiet and unobtrusive efforts, daily made, for the spiritual benefit of those whom they are solemnly bound to instruct and

counsel in the path of life. Their vows to give "faithful diligence\*" to the duties of their calling, to "use both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole within their cures,"—to be "diligent in prayers and in reading of the holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same,"—to "frame and fashion their own selves and their families according to the doctrine of Christ," so as to be "wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ,"—and to "set forward, as much as lieth in them, quietness, peace, and love, among all christian people, and especially among them that are committed to their charge;" these, the holy and appropriate engagements entered into by every clergyman of the church of England, are discharged without the occurrence of any such achievements as are wont to attract the public gaze. After a few years, the hearts for whose welfare the minister has watched, cease to beat; and then probably no record of his labours remains, save only that heavenly memorial, unseen by mortal eye, which will hereafter be unfolded before the world, in the day when the lustre of earthly distinction shall fade, and they that have turned many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever.

It sometimes happens that a preacher of the gospel, who has been engaged in a more public field of labour, or connected with important measures for the good of the church, or endued with a more than ordinary brilliancy of virtues or talents, or who has left to posterity the precious legacy of writings of sterling value,—sinks less rapidly into the gulf of general oblivion, than others whose way was in the retired walks of life. He secures a meed of contemporary fame, and after his decease some attempt is made to perpetuate his reputation by the publication of his history. But in a few fleeting years, the memorial thus written falls into neglect; the name that was laden with honours in one century is not even known to the next; and its place in public estimation,

\* See the Ordination Service.

too often in the estimation of the church, knows it no more. While a few characters, more remarkable than the rest, escape the general devastation of time, the greater number exemplify the truth of the wise man's similitude, which compares human life to a ship that passeth over the waves of the water, of which, when it is gone by, the trace cannot be found, neither the pathway of the keel in the waves; or to a bird which flies through the air, when there is no token of her way to be found, neither any sign where she went through; or to an arrow shot at a mark, parting the air, which immediately cometh together again, so that a man cannot know where it went through.

It sometimes happens, however, that the dust is swept away from a name upon which it has long been suffered to accumulate, and an example worthy of all imitation and of honour, is rescued for a time from unmerited neglect. Such, it is hoped, may be the result of the publication of the ensuing memoir; and it is intended that as far as this volume may be known, it shall convey a portrait of one little known to the present generation, whose personal holiness would have shone brightly, even in the purest ages of christianity; whose diligence in every branch of ministerial labour was beyond all praise; and whose reputation as a preacher once stood so high as to make it a current saying, that his parish reached from Whitehall to Whitechapel\*.

\* Authorities. — 1. *The Life of the Reverend Anthony Horneck, D. D., Late Preacher at the Savoy.* By Richard [Kidder,] Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. Prefixed to his Sermons, and dated 1700.

2. *A summary Account of the Life of the truly pious and Reverend Dr. Anthony Horneck, Minister of the Savoy.* In a letter to a friend, dated 1697.

3. This account is also illustrated by several extracts from Dr. Horneck's *Sermons on the 5th chapter of St. Matthew.*—*Delight and Judgment, or A Prospect of the Great Day of Judgment.*—*The Happy Ascetic, or the Best Exercise;* and other works.

4. Dr. BIRCH'S *Life of Archbishop Tillotson.*

5. *Harleian Miscellany*, 1810. vol. ix, pp. 9-45.

Anthony Horneck was born in the year 1641, at the ancient town of Bacharach, between Mayence and Coblentz, on the banks of the Rhine. His biographers do not agree in their accounts of the religious principles in which he was trained. The anonymous writer states that he was "bred a papist," that he continued to belong to the Roman catholic church, even during a part of the time of his residence in the university, and that his mind was first inclined to change, by observing the uncharitableness of that church, in excluding all but its own members from the mercy of God. But bishop Kidder, who was his intimate friend, and whose account bears a later date than the one above referred to, asserts positively that young Horneck was brought up in the principles of the reformed faith, and that his father, who was recorder of Bacharach, and a man of excellent character, was, moreover, a strict protestant.

The good recorder, influenced, we may hope, by a deliberate survey of his son's talents and temper, and still more by the dawning tokens of piety, wished that his son might enter the ministry, and laid the plans of his education with a view to that object. In due course of time, the young man was sent to the university of Heidelberg, where he applied himself with great diligence to the study of divinity.

Here he had the benefit of the instructions of Dr. Frederick Spanheim the younger, (for two learned professors of the same family bore that christian name,) who was at that time professor of divinity in the university. Under this distinguished tutor he made considerable progress in Arabic and Hebrew, studying the Old Testament in the original language, and examining the rabbinical writings.

Dr. Spanheim gave most satisfactory testimony to the character and proficiency of his pupil. He described Anthony Horneck as being indefatigable in the study of the holy Scriptures from his youth, endued with a good understanding and cheerful disposition, and remarkable for his thirst after substantial knowledge. He added that



the young scholar distinguished himself, at the age of eighteen, in a public discussion upon Jephthah's vow.

From the university of Heidelberg he subsequently removed to that of Wittemberg, where he was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts; after which, he evinced a longing desire to visit England. His father, who at first objected to this scheme, being after a while induced to give his consent, Anthony Horneck left his native country; and, eminent for learning and piety beyond his years, he landed in England, in 1661, at about the age of nineteen, and immediately devoted himself to the study of our language. At this period his religious principles were settled and operative. The gentleman who instructed him in the English tongue assured bishop Kidder that he had never seen a brighter example of youthful piety.

In December 1663, he was incorporated at Queen's college, Oxford, in the same degree (of A.M.) which he bore at Wittemberg. There his learning, especially in the Hebrew and Arabic languages, combined with his exemplary conduct to secure the good opinion and particular favour of Dr. Barlow, the provost, who subsequently became bishop of Lincoln. To this friendship he thus feelingly refers, in dedicating the *Happy Ascetic* to that prelate:—"My lord:—you were the person who first took notice of me in the university, and by your sunshine warmed and cherished my endeavours, and gave encouragement to those studies which I am now engaged in. And as under your shadow I then advanced and prospered, so now that the fruit (though of a coarser sort) is come to some maturity, it was but reason you should have a taste of it. I know not how pleasant it may be to your curious and delicate palate; but your piety is such that you can disrelish nothing that tends to the exercise of real godliness."

He had not resided very long in the university when he was admitted into holy orders, and appointed chaplain of Queen's college, by the influence of Dr. Barlow. Soon after, he became vicar of All-Saints, (then called All-

hallows) in Oxford, in which charge he continued "a most constant and painful preacher" for about two years. He then removed into the family of the duke of Albemarle, being appointed tutor to his son, lord Torrington. That nobleman soon after conferred upon him the rectory of Doulton, in Devonshire, and obtained for him, from bishop Sparrow, a small prebendal stall in Exeter cathedral.

How long he remained with lord Torrington is not stated by his biographers; but we learn that in 1669 he left England on a visit to his friends in Germany; and remained there for about two years. His preaching attracted much attention in his native country, and he received some marks of kindness and respect from the Elector Palatine.

It is natural to suppose that at this period his family and friends endeavoured to persuade him to settle amongst them; and he probably possessed a sufficient share of interest (as he doubtless had character) to give him a reasonable prospect of advancement in his own country. But it was the will of God that he should return to England; and, immediately after his arrival, he was appointed preacher at the Savoy, in which sphere he continued till the day of his death.

Although the maintenance arising from this preferment was small and precarious, he at once resigned his living of Doulton, his notions of pastoral duty forbidding him to hold any cure of souls which he could not superintend in person.

Mr. Horneck entered upon his new charge with a heart fully intent upon performing the duties which devolved upon him with unsparing diligence. No house of residence being connected with the benefice, he immediately hired a dwelling\*, and at once put forth his energies to promote the glory of his heavenly Master.

\* His house was in Exeter Street, Strand, as appears from an account of the design of printing 3000 Bibles in Irish, for the use of the Highlanders, printed in the appendix to Birch's *Life of Boyle*. It is there stated "that the money collected is to be deposited

His sense of pastoral obligation was of a very solemn and exalted nature. "Teaching," he says, "is the business of the ministers of the gospel, not only with their lips, but with their lives. Their lives must be visible comments upon the word they publish; and as one said, they must be like Gideon's soldiers, carry trumpets of sound doctrine in one hand, and lamps of good lives in the other. A minister whose life contradicts his preaching, is one of the worst men in the world, and makes himself twofold more the child of hell than his hearers that imitate his ill example; and, if there be one place hotter than another in the burning lake, that will be his portion. . . . The ministers of the word must not be mealy-mouthed, but cry aloud, and spare not, lift up their voices like trumpets, and show the people of God their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins. Isaiah lviii. 1. There is no dallying with the sins of men, no complimenting their souls with flattering and enticing words. Their sores must be rubbed, and salt and vinegar thrown into their wounds, where it is so that gentle means will do no good. Nor must we fear the anger or displeasure of men, for we have a greater Master to please, who will bring forth our righteousness as the light, and our judgment as the noon-day; nay, and make our very enemies to be at peace with us. However, if he do not this, there is huge comfort in the discharge of a good conscience; to which purpose Christ bids his messengers or ministers rejoice, when they are reviled or despitefully used; and, accordingly, we read of the apostles, that they departed from the council rejoicing, because they were counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of the Lord Jesus. Acts v. 41."

Again, he expresses himself, in one of his sermons, on the text *Ye are the light of the world*, after the following manner:—"Light! How pure it is! And how pure ought their lives to be that are to light others to heaven! with the Rev. Dr. Horneck, who hath been pleased charitably to accept of the trouble of receiving it." p. cxc. 4to. edition.

If those lights be darkness, how great must be that darkness! -If their lives be spotted with any scandalous sin or immorality, what deformed creatures they must be! If they preach one thing, and practise another, how uncertain must the sound of those trumpets be; and who shall prepare himself to battle? If they that are the guides go astray, how shall the blind find their way to paradise? If the sin against which they thunder be found in their skirts, what hope is there that their hearers and disciples shall become wise unto salvation?

“If, by their holy lives and doctrine, they convert many unto righteousness, they shall shine as the stars in the firmament; but if, by their ill example, they light others into the chambers of hell, they shall shine too, but in the flames of the burning lake; and there they will learn, that the servant who knew his Lord’s will, and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.”

“To be a minister of the gospel,” he proceeds, “is something more than to perform the offices prescribed by the canons and law of the land. Doing good must not only be their work, but their delight and pleasure too. Their splendour lies not in shining dignities, but in fleeing youthful lusts, becoming patterns of virtue to those under their charge, and *following righteousness, faith, charity, and peace, with all them that call on the Lord with a pure heart.*” 2 Tim. ii. 22.

In another place he says, on the same subject, “It was not without great reason that our Saviour asked St. Peter thrice, *Lovest thou me?* and, *Lovest thou me more than these?* We may very naturally infer, that in saying so, He showed what manner of spirit those should be of, who were to be pastors, and teachers, and overseers, in the house of God. Nothing renders them more amiable to God and man than this spirit of love; love to the Lord Jesus, love to God’s glory, love to the souls of men, love which makes them willing to spend and be spent, even to die, for the name of the Lord Jesus. It is the mark of Christ’s disciples in general, and therefore must be

so more eminently of those who are to go before the sheep, and lead them to green pastures. From this love have proceeded the almost incredible pains that holy men of God have taken for the conversion of souls, whereof ecclesiastical history gives us very considerable instances."

These views had full possession of the mind of Dr. Horneck\*, and in the spirit of them he executed his sacred office. The scene of his public ministrations was the church of St. Mary-le-Savoy. This edifice had originally been the chapel of an hospital, into which Henry the seventh had converted the ancient Savoy-palace. In the reign of Edward the sixth, when the duke of Somerset pulled down the parish church of St. Mary in the Strand, in order to make way for his magnificent palace, the Savoy-chapel was used as the parish church. In the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, the Savoy became a parish in itself†, a certain precinct, comprising a small population, being assigned to the care of the minister. It appears, however, that Dr. Horneck had also the spiritual charge of the adjoining parish of St. Mary, since his biographers represent him as labouring in a populous district; and one of his works is dedicated to his "beloved parishioners, the inhabitants of St. Mary-le-Strand‡, and the precinct of the Savoy."

Here he was animated, affectionate, and pathetic in his preaching. "He spoke from his own heart," says bishop Kidder, "and pierced the hearts of his hearers. . . . He soon convinced the people that he was in good earnest, and that he had a mighty sense of the worth of souls, and of the vast importance of those truths

\* Anthony à Wood says, that Horneck became "Doctor of Divinity of Cambridge, in 1681, purposely to oblige the duke of Albemarle, who had then a prospect of being shortly after made chancellor of that university, as he was."

† SEYMOUR'S *Survey of London*, i. 208.

‡ The new church of St. Mary-le-Strand was not built till after his death.

which he delivered to them. He used great freedom of speech, and instead of using enticing words of human wisdom, he spake, like his Master, with great conviction and authority. His auditors were convinced that he was a man of God, and sent by Him for the good of souls\*."

Many of his sermons, preached on particular occasions, were published; and besides these, we have sufficient specimens of his matter and style, in the two volumes of his discourses on the Sermon on the Mount. The latter are justly characterized by bishop Kidder, as containing "a great vein of piety and devotion," and as "savouring of the primitive simplicity and zeal."

The low standard of religion which then prevailed, and the corruption and vice which so generally infected the nation, seemed to him to call, in an especial manner, for a serious and deliberate consideration of that "most complete body of practical divinity," as he termed our Lord's discourse. "It is a great work," he says, "and which will take up much time, some years may be, to despatch it in; and whether I shall live to finish it, He alone knows in whose hand our time is; but a work, I am sure, exceeding profitable and useful for all that name the name of Christ, and are desirous to know whether they belong to that Master whose name they bear, and whose patronage they crave."

A few passages extracted from this course of sermons, with the addition of some quotations from his occasional discourses, will give the reader an idea of the spirit and style of this popular preacher, and at the same time make known his sentiments on various important subjects. The propriety of introducing them into this memoir is established by bishop Kidder's assurance, that Horneck's

\* In Evelyn's Diary we find the following entry, in the year 1683:—"18 March. I went to hear Dr. Horneck preach at the Savoy church, on 2 Phil. 5. He was a German born, a most pathetic preacher, a person of saint-like life, and hath written an excellent treatise of *Consideration*."

Anthony à Wood calls him, "a frequent and florid preacher."

sermons furnish "the most lively and truest picture of his mind."

The high value which he set upon the oracles of God is declared in the following passage:—

While the sun and moon continue their courses, God will preserve this precious book. It was He that preserved it so many hundred years already, in despite of fire and flames, and the rage of enemies and persecutors, who would fain have banished, abolished, and exterminated it out of the world. And that very preservation shows, that He will continue these instructions to mankind till the heavens be no more, and the earth doth melt away.

How great is God's care of our souls, who, from age to age, preserves this treasure to us! Neither wars, nor exiles, neither plague, nor sword, nor famine, nor all the changes, mutations, and revolutions in the world, have been able to destroy this treasure. Therefore, while we are here, and have the use of it, let us run to this shop for medicines and remedies when our souls are sick, and when our outward man is in trouble; whatever state we are in, whether prosperity or adversity be our lot, this Scripture will direct us how to behave ourselves, and how to order our conversation. Let us cheerfully make it a lantern to our feet, and a light to our paths, and we cannot go amiss; we cannot stumble, we cannot walk in darkness; and we shall be able to stand when heaven and earth do pass away.

In another sermon, after declaring the holy Scriptures to be the rule of a christian's faith, he exhorted the people to try the instructions which they heard by that test, and to follow them if they were good and true:—

As it is our office to teach you, so is it your duty to be taught: I say, to be taught; not to quarrel with our admonitions; to show yourselves tractable, to suffer the word of exhortation, and to admit the good seed we sow, into a good and honest heart. It is true, you are not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits, whether they be of God. 1 John v. 1. But then, when you have tried our doctrines, and find them agreeable to the word of the living God, there is no tergiversation to be used, but our words must be received as

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if God Himself spoke to you; for we press no other things upon you, than God hath commanded you in the Scriptures. These Scriptures you have in your hands, and, with the Beræans, you are exhorted to search whether things are so as we represent them.

The suitableness of the gospel to the most simple understanding, and the plainness of all essential truths, are topics upon which he enlarged in the sermon which he preached at the consecration of bishop Burnet:—

The morals and common principles, explained, and taught, and inculcated, in sermons to mixed auditors, may be as useful to those of a higher, as to those of a lower form; for though they come not attended with new notions to instruct them, yet they may serve to put them in mind of the solid truths they know, and give them opportunity to enlarge and ruminate upon them, to their spiritual profit and edification. The things which tend to make us eternally happy, are the plainest, the most known, and the most familiar doctrines, improved into practice of godliness; and he that makes the articles of the catholic faith motives and engagements to self-denial and strictness of life, is more likely to arrive in the harbour of a blessed immortality than the greatest *literati*, who think it below them to employ their parts and understandings about things which every ploughman knows as well as they. It was the custom of a very learned prelate of our church [archbishop Usher], when he had talked with his friends of some nicer points of divinity, or history, or chronology, to close his discourse with this friendly exhortation; “Come, let us now talk a little of Jesus Christ!” being sensible that, however learning may enlighten or refine the understanding, the doctrine of the cross, and Christ crucified, and such plain notions of christianity, are the things which, being effectually pondered, will conduct the soul to eternal life and glory.

Dr. Horneck was too well acquainted with his own heart, not to humble himself in dust and ashes before a holy God; and, wishing to convey the same lowly views to the hearts of others, he thus expressed himself:—

What a poor contemptible creature am I! What have I, that I have not received? My body, what is it but the result



of God's bounty? My soul is the work of his hands; and what parts, what abilities, what external accommodations and conveniences I have, they are effects of his liberality; what gifts, what accomplishments, what perfections, what excellencies, what graces, what virtues I have,—what are they but the products of his undeserved charity? Of myself, what am I but a sinner; a name which must fill me with horror when I think of it; a wretched creature that have deserved the wrath and indignation of an offended God, and the burning lake! a very poor inconsiderable thing, or rather an inconsiderable nothing! And shall so vile, so pitiful a thing, the sport of winds, and whose life is a shadow, a dream, and a vapour, be proud of any thing!—who live upon alms, and am maintained by the pure charity and compassion of an omnipotent God? sustained by his breath, upheld by his providence, subsisting by his will, and moving at his pleasure, and a thing no better than a tennis-ball in his hand, which He may strike away, and call for another. What! proud of being in debt, and having a severer account to give? For of this nature are all my mercies; they show how much I am indebted to God, and how great my account will be, when the great Master of the world shall come and reckon with his servants.

Again, he declares his conviction that we require to be renewed in the spirit of our minds, in the following terms:

Man is born like a wild ass's colt, saith Job (xi. 12); and, according to the doctrine of our church, we are born in sin, as David professes of himself (Psalm li. 5); and *are, by nature, children of wrath* (Eph. ii. 2); and if either a new principle be not put into us, or that principle be not improved, we become *children of disobedience*, (Eph. v. 9,) and *children of the devil*, (1 John iii. 10,) *cursed children*, (2 Peter ii. 14,) *strange children*, (Hosea v. 7,) *foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in envy and malice, hateful and hating one another*. But after that the kindness of God our Saviour appears, not by preceding works of righteousness which we have done, or which deserve it, but according to his mercy, He saves us by the washing of regeneration, and by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He sheds on us through our Lord Jesus Christ, says the apostle,

(Titus iii. 3, 4, 5,) and thus we become the children of God. Baptism prepares us, the Word of God convinces us, the Holy Ghost changes us, the merits of Jesus Christ recommend us, our good works testify of us, and at last heaven receives us. And this it is to be *born of God*, (1 John iii. 9,) or to be *born from above*, (1 John iii. 3,) or rather to be *born again*, and that *not of corruptible but of incorruptible seed*, (1 Peter i. 23); so that there is a great deal more required to make a person a child of God, than bare nature or natural gifts. Here grace is the chief ingredient, even grace scouring the heart with supernatural motions, or with motions of love, —grace, manifested not only in discourses, and speeches, and answers, but works and actions, divine and spiritual, and edifying, and, in the eye of the world, unreasonable, and contrary to good manners.

Entertaining such opinions, he could not but rejoice in the doctrine of salvation through the cross of Christ. He speaks of the kingdom of glory as the purchased possession of the humble.

Purchased by whom! Even by Christ Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep, who laid down his life for them, and thereby obtained an everlasting inheritance for them. None could purchase it but He, for whoever undertook the work, must be not only a man innocent, spotless, and without sin, and die, but of that divine excellency too, as to be able to give his death an infinite value; the virtue whereof might extend itself to all ages, and to all sorts of persons too: this none could do but He that was the Son of God, and the son of David too. He did it, and wonderful was the enterprise; nothing was ever attempted like it. He died, and purchased this kingdom of glory for the humble; his purchase makes it theirs. He was both able to purchase it, and, when He had done, to apply it to those for whom it was purchased. If a rich man buys an estate for a beggar, the beggar may justly call it his; for he that had right, and means, and power, and ability to buy it, bought it for his use.

In his sermon on the text, *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy*, he notices it as remarkable, that of the merciful, here, it is said, that mercy is that which they shall obtain:—

Mercy, not wages. God will reward their mercifulness, but that recompense shall be matter of mercy, not of debt. Those that would persuade people that by large alms-deeds they merit heaven, talk like persons who never read the gospel, which beats down all opinion of merit, and makes us unprofitable servants, after doing all that we are commanded to do; gives us right notions of our good works, and of the nature of them; and doth so advance the glory of God's grace in all we do, that we wonder men should cherish so much as the shadow of such a vain opinion.

The most comfortable sentiments were conveyed to his mind by the argument expressed by the apostle, in the question, *He that spared not his own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?*

Remember, God is your Father. He is so to angels, who are therefore called the sons of God (Job. i.), but He is yours too; not only theirs, but you that dwell in tabernacles of clay may very justly call Him so; nay, yours in a special manner, not only because He gives you a natural life and being, and watches over you night and day, but yours by giving a Son for you,—his only Son,—his eternal Son; yours, reconciled to you by that Son, even by the blood of his cross. And have not you reason to please such a Father? Can such a Father leave or forsake you? May not you very justly be confident that such a Father will assist you, strengthen you, bestow his Holy Spirit upon you, and enable you to let the light of your good works shine before men?

Of the kingdom of grace and of glory he thus speaks:

By the kingdom of heaven, in Scripture, particularly in the New Testament, is meant, sometime the kingdom of grace, sometime the kingdom of glory. The kingdom of grace is that sweet and gentle government by which Christ Jesus, the Son of God, the Head of his church, and the King of Saints, doth, by his Spirit, exercise his disciples, followers, and such as have given themselves up to his conduct; by which Spirit He teaches, enlightens, guides, assists, strengthens, comforts, and preserves them, makes them willing and obedient, and communicates strength, and life, and power to them, more or

less, according to the improvement of the stock committed to their trust: this is the kingdom of grace, and in this sense the expression is used, Matt. iii. 2, Matt. xiii. 44, and in other places. The kingdom of glory, the future reward and recompense, God intends and designs for those who have resolutely taken Christ's yoke upon them, even that glory, honour, and immortality St. Paul speaks of, (Rom. ii. 7,) consisting in seeing God face to face, and triumphing over hell and devils, and enjoying Him, in whose presence there is fulness of joy for ever: this is the kingdom of glory, and in this sense we find the phrases used, Matt. vii. 12, Matt. xiii. 43, Matt. xix. 23.

In his sermon on the text, *Be ye, therefore, perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect*, he recommends the following means of approaching this perfection:—

1. A mighty ambition after spiritual things; as great an ambition to be truly good and holy as others have to be rich and great in the world.

2. A vigorous consideration of the future degrees of glory, according to the progress you make here. He that meditates much of these degrees, will find in himself a vehement desire after such degrees of sanctity as the most perfect persons have attained to.

3. A fervent love of the Lord Jesus; such a love as we find in St. Paul, in St. John, in Mary the sister of Martha, and others; a love which must rise from the strong impresses made upon the soul by the sufferings of Christ, and his love in descending from heaven and dying for us.

4. A lively representation of what God has done for us, both in spirituals and temporals; for this will mightily inflame the soul, and put her upon doing anything which He delights in.

5. An attentive consideration of the title in the text [Matt. v. 48,] where God is called *Our Father which is in heaven*, an epithet often repeated, and therefore often to be thought of. If we are his children, what should we do but imitate Him, that being the nature and duty of children that do not bear the name in vain . . . . . I do not mention prayer as a means, because we still suppose that whatever helps we offer, all are insignificant without fervent prayer.

More than once the thought expressed in the following passage occurs in his sermons:—

To give God the sleepest hours of the day, and to bestow the most lively upon the world, is not to acknowledge Him for your king, but to make Him the world's servant. And to give Him the lame and maimed, while your profit and gain engross the sound and fat of your thoughts, is preposterous devotion.

And in a sermon on *The Nature of true Christian Righteousness*, preached before the king and queen (William and Mary) at Whitehall, Nov. 17, 1689, and published by her majesty's special command,—after describing the scribes and pharisees as “laying the stress of their devotions upon the bare outward task and performance, without any regard to the inward frame,” he adds, “and I wish too many who profess themselves members of the best church in the world, I mean the church of England, did not split their vessel against this rock.”

Dr. Horneck recommended to his congregation a solemn consideration of the greatness of God, if they desired to be led to consistent and holy living:—

With such thoughts let us appear before Him, and whatever greatness or magnificence we see or observe in princes and great men here on earth, let us conceive something infinitely greater in God, which cannot be expressed. And if his greatness were duly represented to our minds, and preserved in our hearts, how devoutly should we pray! how humbly should we beg! how reverently should we adore Him! how ready should we be to stand in awe of Him! how circumspectly should we walk! How diligently should we obey Him! how afraid should we be of offering Him sleepy, careless, dull, and drowsy devotions, the blind and the lame services, I mean the unwilling, sick, and hypocritical, and such as our governors would scorn, and therefore God cannot but despise.

But it was his desire to excite other feelings, besides those of fear and reverence. He considered that a due remembrance of God was fitted to inspire most comfortable thoughts into the mind of a christian.

Did you think of God, his holiness, mercy, goodness, omnipresence, providences, promises, threatenings, his power, and authority, and sovereignty, and the wonderful advantages that came by Jesus Christ, your sins, and your duties, and the judgment of another world; did you think of these in your going out and in your coming in, these thoughts would render God amiable to you, and attract your love, and even compel you to please Him. Prayer is not to be confined to a closet. In your business and in your labours you can pray; in the field and in your walks you can address God with devout and holy thoughts; and you would see the wonderful effects of this method if it were duly followed, and the duties which now seem difficult and hard, would become pleasant and amiable, and your choice and delight; and you would wonder at the backwardness of human nature to this serious, and I may truly say, most noble employment.

Deeply impressed with a conviction that nothing can prosper without God, he enjoined his congregation to pray, on all occasions, for God's grace and blessing.

St. Luke takes notice that when Christ intended to deliver his sermon, he was a whole night before engaged in prayer to God. Surely this was to teach us not to attempt or begin anything of concernment without prayer. This is to be observed both in religious and civil matters. Even before you go to prayer, send up some short ejaculation in your mind to God, to give you hearts to pray, and power and wisdom to offer to Him the desires of your hearts. Before you read a chapter in the Bible, beg of God to enlighten your minds, and to work upon your wills, that you may cheerfully do what He requires of you in his word, and to bestow spiritual wisdom upon you, that you may understand what you read. Before you go to church, beg of Him to give you attentive minds, sober thoughts, and a great sense of his presence in the assembly of the saints. Before you begin a religious fast, beg of Him to quicken your hearts, to raise your devotion, to assist you with humble thoughts, and to accept of your humiliation, and teach you to perform it so that it may be acceptable in his sight. This rule is to be observed in all other religious exercises, and not only these, but in the civil concerns of your lives. Custom hath made it fashionable before

you eat and drink. Let religion and conscience oblige you to use it, in and before all your other lawful and worldly concerns. Before you go about your lawful business, let it be your earnest prayer to God to bless you with success, if it be for his glory and your own good, and withal to furnish you with that even temper of mind, that your obtaining your desires may not swell or lift you up, nor your miscarrying in your attempts deject or dispirit you. This is the way to sanctify all your actions, and to preserve the spirit of religion; for want of this spiritual wisdom you fall too often into great anxieties of mind, and very disorderly passions, when you miss your prey. Prayer will quiet your spirits. This is conversing with God; and while a great and glorious God is the object of our thoughts, we are armed against immoderate sorrow, we can triumph over losses, find comfort in our disappointments, learn to despise the world, and encourage ourselves to set our affections on the things which are above.

Again:—

In natural, common, temporal, and ordinary concerns, God's help is absolutely necessary; for *except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it*. How much more must this hold in [things] spiritual? And, therefore, Christian, since the eyes of all do wait upon that God that gives them their meat in due season, behold the rock from whence thy water of life must flow. Thy *faith* is weak,—go to Him, and He will make it mount up with wings as eagles. Thy *hope* is faint,—run to Him, and He will give it life and spirit. Thy *love* wants fire,—address thyself to Him, and He will inflame it. Thy *charity* languishes,—apply thyself to Him, and He will breathe vigour and activity into it. Thy *resistance of temptations* is feeble,—follow Him with fervent tears and prayers, and He will make thee bold as a lion.

And he assured his hearers of God's willingness to hear their supplications, if they prayed with sincerity of heart:—

God will be importuned, and that importunity shows that we are in good earnest. Let us beg and implore the grace of God, as an hungry and thirsty man doth beg for meat and drink, and try whether God will not open the windows of heaven, and fill our souls with food convenient, with grace, I

mean, sufficient for our purpose. God cannot deny Himself, and, having promised his Spirit upon our strong and vehement cries, He will hear, and answer, and grant us our heart's desire, and the request of our lips; and the breath of life will enter into us, even the spirit of courage and wisdom, which will throw down all imaginations that exalt themselves against the obedience of Christ Jesus, and we shall be able to do what He did, and bear what He bore, *according to the working whereby He is able to subdue all things to Himself.*

Dr. Horneck deprecated that folly which turns real piety and the fear of God to ridicule; and he endeavoured to fortify the minds of religious people against the scoffs and jeers of the ungodly. In his sermon on our Saviour's words, *Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake*, he observes:—

It is a lamentable thing to see some masters of families, how angry they are with their servants, apprentices, nay, sometimes children too, for being devout and serious, and cautious of offending God, and wronging their consciences; and what reproachful titles they heap upon them, calling them fools, sots, melancholy, precise, fanatics, hypocrites, and what not; nay, [they] are angry sometimes even with the ministers of the gospel, by whose persuasion they have turned to God.

In another place, he says,—

Let a person break loose from the devil and his evil companions, and, by a secret impulse from God's Spirit, betake himself to a life spiritual, and conformable to the rules of the gospel, presently men's tongues are let loose against him, especially if accidentally he be guilty of some little imprudences; these are straightway aggravated, and his whole design charged with baseness and hypocrisy, and he is either become fanatic, or mad, or proud, or ill-natured, or bad company, or something that may render him odious.

But this must be no discouragement to a person that knows that this hath been an old stratagem of the devil, as old as the fall of Adam, when he put false interpretations upon God's prohibitions, and accused even God Himself of envy and ill-nature, 'What could God say indeed, ye shall not



eat of this tree? He well knows that the very moment ye eat of it, ye will be wise, and knowing, and omniscient, like Himself, and therefore forbids you this delicate food.'

He that will be saved must break through all these cobwebs, and esteem the reproach of Christ greater riches than all the treasures of the world.

The following extracts relate to affliction:—

Have the heroes of religion [he asks] suffered so much, and shall I, a puny christian, complain? Have the great champions of the gospel endured as much or more than I, and shall a christian of an ordinary size find fault? Have such men as St. Paul and the holy apostles gone through fiery trials, and shall I, a disciple of those great masters, tremble at the fire? Have the fathers, the strong men in grace, and old disciples, been scratched and wounded with briars and thorns, and shall I, a babe, look to tread on carpets? Have the generals, the captains in Christ's army, gone through a sea of adversity, and shall I, a common soldier, shrink at the waves? Have such men as Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, men that could in a manner command heaven by their prayers, been reviled, traduced, reproached, and shall I, a shrub, take it ill that I am called out of my name?

He afterwards thus addresses all who suffer according to the will of God:—

You are not alone in your sufferings, for besides that God is present with you, and the Lord Jesus, that merciful High Priest, is touched with the feeling of your infirmities, you have admirable company in your sufferings. The patriarchs were sufferers, the prophets were sufferers, the apostles were sufferers, the best christians were sufferers,—heaven is full of sufferers. What a glorious society is here! The high and lofty One, who inhabits eternity, dwells among these weeping and groaning saints. The Son of God is there, captain and principal; who would not suffer with such a society? With these suffering saints you shall rejoice at last. As you have mourned with them, so you shall sing with them. As you have borne the heat and burden of the day with them, so you shall rest with them. As you have drank of the cup of trembling with them, so you shall drink with them of the cup

of salvation. As you have been reviled with them, so you shall be honoured with them. And your honour shall not be like that of Haman or Nebuchadnezzar, which, like a glorious sun-shining morning, was overcast before night; but your honour shall be like that of the Son of God, you shall rule in the house of Jacob for ever, and of your kingdom shall be no end.

In another sermon, he speaks the following words of consolation and encouragement to afflicted believers:—

Lift up your heads, ye mourners of Sion. . . . You sow in tears now, the day will come when you shall reap in joy! It is but a little while, and He that shall come will come. The hope of a kingdom keeps a captive prince from murmuring, and should not the hopes of that kingdom which fades not away, bear up your spirits against despair? Have you fought the good fight so long, and will you give over now? Are you within reach of the crown, and will you lay down your weapons? Are you within sight of the haven, and will you suffer shipwreck? Behold that Jesus who was dead and is alive again, and is the King of the princes of the earth, is hastening to your rescue; you will see Him ere long coming in the clouds of heaven, and all his holy angels with Him; your affliction will then be changed into eternal freedom, your waters of Marah into rivers of delight which make glad the city of God, your prisons into perfect liberty, your lions'-dens into a palace, your fiery furnace into the light of God's countenance, your dungeon into heaven, your poverty into plenty, your sickness into eternal health, your losses into solid possessions, your shackles into kisses, your fetters into the kindest embraces, your briers into glory, your thorns into a crown. O joyful day, when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality, and your rags be changed into splendid robes! Who would not suffer awhile to enter into that rest! Who would be afraid of being destitute, afflicted, tormented, when these storms are all to expire into eternal sunshine! The Spirit and the bride say Come, and let him that heareth say Come; even so come Lord Jesus!

As he lived for heaven himself, so he recommended others to consider seriously their real condition, and their

final destiny, in order that they might be induced to do the same :

In the vanity of the creature, let us behold our own, and whenever we take a view of the decay of terrestrial glories, and see day die into night, and summer into winter, one hour, one moment, into another, and herbs and plants shed their blossoms, let us reflect upon our own death and departure hence.

Again, directing them to set their affections on things above, he adduced the following illustration to show how likely that would be to influence their whole conduct :—

They say of Boleslaus, king of Poland, that he used to wear his father's picture in his bosom, and whenever he was to do any thing of moment he pulled out the picture, looked upon it, and begged of God that he might do nothing unworthy of so great, so good, so wise a father: so you, let the landscape of that heavenly country hang always before your eyes, and whatever you are doing, whether you are rising or sitting down, whether you are walking or standing, whether you are travelling or conversing with men, still look upon that portraiture, and let this be your resolution, to do nothing unworthy of that heaven you are aiming at.

Of the glories and blessedness of eternity, he spoke in terms of exalted delight :—

This kingdom; O that I had the tongue of an angel to represent it to you in lively characters! This kingdom is large, ample, great, and spacious; it holds not only all the blessed angels, but all the saints that have lived since the foundation of the world, and are like to be to the end of it. It is infinitely rich; there is such plenty there, that the banks are overflowed, and the cup of joy runs over. It is infinitely safe, safe beyond all the castles and citadels in the world; for all the inhabitants are brethren, love one another with a pure heart fervently, and are everlastingly faithful one to another; so fearless they are, that the gates of this kingdom stand open day and night. It is durable beyond rocks and marble, for it is incorruptible, and fades not away. The queen of Sheba counted Solomon's servants happy, because they lived in his house. What then must the inhabitants of such a kingdom

be, where the king is the fountain, not only of all honour, but of all bliss and felicity, and the subjects drink of that fountain, drink and never thirst again; where the company is glorious, and splendid to admiration, and the lowest person there is an angel; where everlasting content reigns, and all are free from sin, from the assaults of the world, the flesh and the devil; where all are filled with grace and glory, and all are satisfied with the rivers of God's pleasures.

Sirs, this kingdom of heaven we have commission to offer to you, not a kingdom of this world; and if we could offer to you an earthly kingdom, that would not make you so happy as this kingdom of heaven will, for kings on earth we see are not always the happiest men; they have their fears and losses, their discontents and vexations, as well as other folks. This kingdom of heaven, the richest prize that ever was heard of, we offer to you; but we must tell you withal, that there is no coming to this rich and wealthy empire except you become poor. The palace is stately and magnificent, but the gate is low. The richest, the greatest, the wealthiest of you all must become poor, poor in spirit, and humble as a worm, if you mean to enjoy the bliss of yonder kingdom. If we should bid you, as Christ did the young man in the gospel, Go and sell all you have, and give it to the poor, and follow a poor Saviour, and you shall have treasure in heaven; there is none of you but must confess, that it were worth parting with all to get this treasure. But such a poverty we do not press upon you, nor think it absolutely necessary, except in case of persecution, when men must hate father and mother, brethren and sisters, lands and houses, and life itself, for the gospel's sake; but God hath showed thee, O man, and what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, even to walk humbly with thy God. Humility is the readiest way to a glorious exaltation; and how often doth our blessed Saviour repeat that golden saying, *He that humbleth himself shall be exalted!* This, not only saints but philosophers agree in; this, the wisest men of most nations, countries, and religions, confess. The truth of it is so evident, that it shines through the very chinks and crevices of nature.

Need I ask any of you, whether you have a mind to be happy and blessed? I know you all would be so; and if this be your resolution, behold, here lies the way: *Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*

But if the hope of God's mercy would not move impenitent sinners, he warned them of the reality of a world of eternal woe:—

A very unpleasant theme to speak of! Yet it's better to speak of it than to feel it: to discourse of it, that men may save themselves from the terror of it, than drop into it. Hell! And is there such a thing? The atheist, the man of pleasure, is loth to believe it; and he hath reason; for, if he should, it would spoil his mirth, he would sin with trembling, and his sensuality would be uneasy. But, in despite of all the arguments such brutish men allege against this place of torment, which they are loth to feel, there is a hell, and there must be one, and every impenitent soul shall find it by sad experience, whether they will or not. There is one; abundance of sinners feel it before they die, and the dreadful fire begins to burn in their consciences. There must be one; can there be a government without gaols, and prisons, and dungeons? And is God the governor of the world, and shall his government alone be without places to tame obstinate offenders? There are few so senseless but are content to believe there is a heaven, and an eternity of joy, and they wish for it; I would fain know how they come to believe there is a heaven? Is it not because the gospel saith so? And doth not the same gospel say there is an everlasting punishment, a worm that dies not, and a fire that is never quenched? Did Christ speak truth in one place and not in another? . . . . Oh, that this were laid to the heart by every soul here present! To sit for ever howling in a dungeon! for ever, without any hope of release! To feel something that is painful, and piercing, and astonishing, like fire, like outward darkness, like gnashing of teeth, and to feel it for ever! What man that believes, and seriously thinks of it, can be so profane as to refuse Him that speaks from heaven, and (after all these descriptions of hell, where wrath and malice shall be punished to the purpose,) keep and cherish those evil spirits in his bosom! The very possibility of falling into such a prison, is enough to put a man upon a serious study how to be wise unto salvation; how then should the certainty of it work upon us all! I feel a kind of horror upon my spirits while I talk of it, and that even forces me to stop, and conclude with the prayer or petition of our Litany:—From

all evil and mischief, from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil, from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation, good Lord deliver us!

Our last specimen of his sermons is interesting, on account of the associations connected with it, as well as the important nature of the sentiments it expresses. It is a passage contained in a discourse preached at the consecration of bishop Burnet, in the year 1689, in which he addresses the individual who was then elevated to that responsible office, as well as the other bishops assembled on that occasion:—

For this end the Holy Spirit is bestowed upon you, that you should feed the flock committed to your charge, and cause it to be fed by persons not only learned, but pious and devout, and such as have a great sense of God, and of the worth of men's souls. For this cause the Holy Ghost moves upon your inward man, that you should feed the sheep by preaching the word, by your sweet and gentle government, and by your exemplary lives. These will be evidences, and arguments, and demonstrations, that the Spirit of glory and of God rests upon you, that you walk after the Spirit, and are filled with it, and that the weapons of your warfare are not carnal but spiritual, and mighty, through God, to the pulling down the strong-holds of iniquity. Feeding implies giving food convenient to your Master's family, ruling the house of God according to the dictates of reason, the Word of God, and the best examples, and making yourselves patterns of meekness, humility, charity, self-denial, and of all good works. The external honours Providence bestows upon you, and the respect men pay you, are to encourage you to a cheerful performance of your work, and intended not to swell you, not to puff you up, not to tempt you to please and tickle yourselves with your grandeur, but to infuse greater alacrity into you to fight the good fight, and to shed blessed influences on all that are round about you. Ye are the captains, the generals, in Christ's army; while you bear the burden and heat of the day, decline no labour, spare no pains, live like faithful stewards of the mysteries of God, vindicate your Master's honour, act like persons who have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, and, by manifestation of the truth, commend yourselves to every man's con-

science in the sight of God. Make good the glorious titles and the lofty names which are given you; such as angels, and stars, and lights of the world, and the salt of the earth, and a city set on a hill,—titles of a proud sound, but which are intended to make you humble, and to tell you, that you are only exalted that you may with greater facility take your people by the hand, and lift them up to heaven. This is the way to do good, and to make religion glorious and well spoken of. This will even convince infidels that religion is something more than a name, something more than policy and interest, that it is able to transform tempers, to change hearts, and to make men act contrary to their natural inclinations; and that, instead of debasing human nature, it exalts, and polishes, and refines it, and leads it to solid bliss and happiness; and this, as well as your learning, will make you, as it was once said of the English clergy, the wonder of the world.

In these passages there is a life, and spirit, and heartiness, which commend them to us as expressions of genuine feelings. They are also well calculated to arrest the attention of the thoughtless, and to edify the devout; and in point of fact his labour was not in vain. He lived in the affections of his parishioners; his church was so well attended, that it was often “no easy matter to get through the crowd to the pulpit;” and a very large number of devout communicants bore testimony that God was bestowing a blessing upon his labours. His friend, Kidder, who was himself a parochial minister in London, speaks thus of his attention to this branch of his duty. “He administered the holy communion on the first Sunday of every month, and preached a preparation sermon on the Friday preceding. He did it also on the great festivals. He administered it twice on a day; in the morning at eight o’clock, and at the usual time after the morning sermon. The number of the communicants held a great proportion to that of his auditors, and their devotion was very exemplary. The number was so great at both times, that it will hardly be believed by those clergymen who have been confined to the country, and

have seen the small number of those who attend upon this holy service. So great was the number, that there was need of great help of clergymen to assist in the delivering of the bread and wine; and with such assistance, it was very late before the congregation could be dismissed. I will add, that I do not remember that I did ever behold so great numbers, and so great signs of devotion, and a due sense and profound reverence, becoming this great act of divine worship, in my whole life. The doctor took indefatigable pains, on these occasions, but he was encouraged to do so from the great success his labours met withal."

This was the more satisfactory as an indication of the spiritual state of his flock, from the solemn and touching appeals which he made, to caution them against accounting the Lord's Supper a mere form or ceremony, and to admonish them of the danger of receiving it in impenitence. He described that sacred feast as an engagement "to war against sin, to wrestle with temptations, to subdue the disorderly motions of the flesh, and to stop our ears against the blandishments of the world."

In his private labours he was not less diligent and zealous than in his public ministrations. "He had a mighty sense of the worth of souls," says Kidder, "and of the great care that is to be had of them, . . . and his heart was wholly set upon gaining souls to God." In one of his sermons, he declares his conviction that "a man in whom the Spirit of God is, cannot but be touched with compassion to behold the great numbers of people that go astray from the way to salvation. Ah!" he exclaims, "how many thousands do we see ride post to everlasting misery! . . . . And can a man that hath a sense of the veracity of God in the gospel, behold such numbers without being grieved or concerned, or venting some charitable wishes that he might be instrumental in their reformation? . . . . But to be touched with the everlasting misery of men's immortal souls, there must be



an illumination from above, and the spirit of Christ, and a deep consideration, that must affect the heart with a profound sense of it. A soul taken up with the world and the pleasures of it, is unconcerned who perishes and who is saved. But he that understands what salvation means, and labours hard after it himself, and understands that the threatenings of the gospel are no bugbears, but very real things,—cannot but spend many a sad thought about a concern of that consequence. And oh! that there were such a heart, not only in the ministers of the gospel, but in other private men, even in you all, and that in your actual endeavours to reclaim your wicked neighbours, you may discover the concern you have for their spiritual and everlasting welfare! If the world did not grow better under this attempt, your own souls, however, would grow in grace, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost.”

In this spirit he laboured in that charitable and holy work night and day, devoting to it his life and thoughts, and resolutely encountering all the difficulties which stood in his way. Administering most liberally to the relief and comfort of the indigent, he considered their souls as well as their bodies, and reprov'd, instructed, and exhorted, with all long-suffering and doctrine. “I am sure,” says bishop Kidder, “that the places may be shown where this holy man was doing good; where he taught and where he relieved; where he entered the lists with papists, and where with the other enemies of the church; where he instructed the youth, and where he encouraged and directed the younger christians, and where he exhorted the elder. There are those who can point to the places, and truly say,—Here is the family whom he relieved, and here live the poor widows whom he provided for; here is the place where he preached, and where he persuaded his auditors to frequent communion, and brought vast multitudes of men and women to constant attendance on that holy ordinance.

“It was his constant endeavour to provoke the people

of whom he had the charge, to love and to good works. He was unwearied in his exertions and prayers for the sick and dying. And he laboured with that zeal which might be expected from one who could conscientiously assert, that his greatest affliction was the failure of his attempts to wean the people from sin, and to bring them to God. In short, he had so much business generally upon his hands that he had hardly time to eat his meal."

He was often applied to for advice and consolation by persons troubled in mind; and, on these occasions, he treated each case with discrimination and delicacy, always pausing to reflect, as he expresses it, "when it was proper to use the rod, and when to use the staff." He would sometimes introduce these cases of conscience as topics of conversation with his friend Kidder; and "I do solemnly declare," says the bishop, "that I never heard him deliver his opinion but I was entirely satisfied with it."

In the year 1682, he was called upon to attend three foreign prisoners, who were awaiting the punishment of death, for a murder committed by them under very peculiar circumstances. It appears that on Sunday February the 12th, a gentleman, named Thynne, was stopped in his carriage in Pall-Mall, in broad day-light, by two horsemen, one of whom discharged four or five bullets into his body, after which they rode off together with a third, who was near, at full speed. On the next day, the perpetrators of this murder were apprehended, and Dr. Gilbert Burnet, being desired to visit them, and finding himself unable to converse with one of them, who could only speak the Polish language and high Dutch, requested the assistance of Dr. Horneck.

The chief criminal, named captain Vratz, had employed and deluded the others to assist him in executing a purpose of deadly revenge. The man who perpetrated the crime was an ignorant Pole, who had only arrived in England a few days before, to whom the captain represented that an English gentleman had attempted to kill

him, and would repeat the attempt, and, therefore, that it was merely an act of self-defence to shoot him,—adding that, in England, a servant was not held responsible for acts committed by his master's order.

The other accomplice was a needy lieutenant, named Stern, who, being under pecuniary obligations to the captain, had consented to go out as his second in a duel; but observing the nature of the preparations which were making, and suspecting that some crime of deeper dye was premeditated by Vratz, his mind was oppressed by “a darkness and stupor” for many preceding days; he had gone out that morning with the greatest reluctance, and was keeping aloof from his companions at the moment when the fatal shot was fired.

These were the men whom Burnet and Horneck visited, in the hope of exciting a godly sorrow in their souls. At the first interview these clergymen discovered no sense of guilt in any of the prisoners; but, in a few days, the lieutenant sent for Dr. Horneck, who immediately went to the prison, and called first upon the captain. Finding him still hardened and impenitent, he took his leave, with an earnest entreaty that he would seriously reflect upon the subjects of their conversation, and remember his soul.

Far different was the state in which he found the lieutenant. Several religious books, and amongst them a Bible, lay before him; his spirit was completely subdued; he deplored his sins; confessed that he deserved all that would befall him, and expressed an humble hope that God would bring him to a proper sense of this and of all his sins.

“He protested at that time,” writes Horneck, “upon my expostulations with him, that it was not approaching death, and the punishment that was like to attend him in this world, that moved him to repentance, but the blackness of the crime, and his offending a gracious God, and forgetting his dear Redeemer's precepts. And here

he broke forth into holy ejaculations, fit for a christian and a true penitent." Dr. Horneck next visited the Polish servant, "whom I found," he says, "engaged in reading a German book, containing prayers and devotions, fit for a penitent, which he told me he was repeating to himself day and night. I gave him such heads of contemplation as I thought proper for his condition and capacity; exhorted him to recollect himself, and to find out what other sins he had formerly lived in, it being not sufficient to deplore one, but all he could remember, upon serious examination; which he promised me to do, and so I departed."

At the next visit to them, which was also the last, Dr. Horneck found the captain still sullen, high-minded, and impatient. Amongst other things, "I told him," he says, "that he seemed to talk too high for a true penitent, for those who were truly so were exceeding humble, not only to God but to men too; and one part of their humility to men was to confess to them, and to their relations, the wrong they had done them. Whereupon he answered, that it was enough for him to be humble to God, but he knew of no humility he owed to man; and God, he believed, had a greater favour for gentlemen, than to require all these punctilios at their hands; and that it was absurd to think that so many thousand gentlemen, abroad in the world, that stood upon their honour and reputation as much as he, should be damned or for ever miserable, because they cannot stoop to things which will prejudice and soil the figure they make in the world. As for his part, he said, he believed Christ's blood had washed away his sins, as well as other men's, for on this errand He came into the world, to save sinners; he was, indeed, sorry Mr. Thynne was dead, but that was all he could do. I told him, that Christ's blood was actually applied to none but the true penitent; and that true repentance must discover itself in meekness, humility, tender-heartedness, compassion, righteousness, making ingenuous

confessions, and, so far as we are able, satisfaction too—else, notwithstanding the treasure of Christ's blood, men might drop into hell."

After some further conversation, in which Dr. Horneck endeavoured to awaken the unhappy man to a sense of his awful state and prospects, finding his efforts fruitless he departed, expressing a fervent wish that the captain might be brought to a better mind.

On reviewing this and the other conversations which he held with captain Vratz, Dr. Horneck thus notices the peculiar features of his case:—"That which I chiefly observed in him was, that honour and bravery was the idol he adored, a piece of preposterous devotion which he maintained to the last, as if he thought it would merit praise not to depart from what he had once said, though it was with the loss of God's favour, and the shipwreck of a good conscience. He considered God as some generous yet partial prince, who would regard men's blood, descent, and quality, more than their errors . . . . . Whether, after my last conference with him, he relented, I know not: those that saw him go to his execution, observed that he looked undaunted, and with a countenance so steady, that it seemed to speak his scorn not only of the spectators that looked upon him, but of death itself. But I judge not of the thoughts of dying men; those the Searcher of all hearts knows best, to whom men stand or fall."

After leaving the captain, Dr. Horneck went to the lieutenant, and expressed to him the satisfaction with which he had, a little before, observed his "christian behaviour" under the reproaches of the captain, who rebuked him bitterly for having made a confession of their crime to a magistrate. He then left him with Dr. Burnet, and entered into conversation with the Pole, who "gave me," he says, "such an account of his repentance, as his honest simplicity dictated to him, and said, that if he were to live any longer in this world, he verily thought this one sin would keep his soul so awake for

the future, that it would not be an easy matter to make him act again against his conscience. This had roused him, and he now perceived the sweetness of a good life, and keeping close to the way of God. He was sensible he had deserved the punishment the law would inflict upon him; and all his confidence was in the blood of Jesus, who knew how he was drawn in, and the plainness of his temper, which was wrought upon by the captain's subtilty; however, he freely forgave him, and commended his soul into the hands of God."

"And here," continues Dr. Horneck, "ended my conference with the respective prisoners. Having wished them the powerful assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I took my leave of them. The lieutenant desired me to go with him, on the Friday following (March 10), to the place of execution, there to tell the spectators what he should think fit to say to them. I told him I would very readily oblige him in his request, but that I was bound to preach that very morning, and that very hour, when he should be led to the place of execution; however, Dr. Burnet, who had been his spiritual father all along, would not fail to do that last office for him, in which he rested satisfied: and with all humility, in a penitent posture, bade us adieu\*."

\* The narrative may be found at length in the ninth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, which also contains the confession and last address of the lieutenant, who therein speaks the language of deep repentance, and introduces many touching reflections and exhortations. Evelyn calls the chief criminal colonel Vrats. The following extract from his diary explains some of the circumstances of the case.

March 10, 1682. "This day was executed colonel Vrats, and some of his accomplices, for the execrable murder of Mr. Thynne, set on by the principal Koningsmark; he went to execution like an undaunted hero, as one that had done a friendly office for that base coward, count Koningsmark, who had hopes to marry his widow, the rich lady Ogle, and was acquitted by a corrupt jury, and so got away. Vratz told a friend of mine, who accompanied him to the gallows, and gave him some advice, that he did not value dying of a rush, and hoped and believed God would deal

In the reign of king James the second, when preparations were manifestly being made for restoring popery in this kingdom, Dr. Horneck spared no exertions to resist the flood, which he knew to be full charged with evil to the temporal and eternal interests of men. After the revolution, we find him employed in the gratifying office of receiving back, into the bosom of the church, a clergyman who had, for a while, weakly deserted her. The person referred to was Edward Sclater, whom Mr. Evelyn denominates "an apostate curate of Putney," and who was in fact the vicar of that parish. Desiring to be received back into the communion of the church, he applied to Dr. Horneck, of whose judicious conduct in the matter we are enabled to judge, by his *Account of Mr. E. Sclater's Return, &c., and of the public Recantation he made at the Church of St. Mary-le-Savoy, May 5, 1689.*

"It was about the beginning of April last," says Dr. Horneck in that narrative, "that Mr. Sclater sent a friend of his to me, to desire me to admit him to the communion at the Savoy; and the motive alleged was, That he had not only given my lord archbishop of Canterbury satisfaction in the sincerity of his repentance, but was ready to make a free and formal retractation of his former errors before me; and to assure me that nothing but conviction and evidence, and a clearer sight of the truth, had wrought this conversion in him. And the reason, he said, why he chose to receive the eucharist at the Savoy, was, because he intended to live thereabout, in a house of his own, and then to betake himself to such employment as he should be capable of."

Dr. Horneck could not but feel apprehensive that the total failure of the attempts of the papists might have occasioned this new change in Mr. Sclater's views; but at

with him like a gentleman. Never man went so unconcerned for his sad fate." The editor of Evelyn's *Diary* states, that there is a monument to Mr. Thynne, in Westminster Abbey, presenting a representation of the manner of his death.

the same time, feeling that he ought to be pleased at the return of a straying sheep, and much more of a shepherd who had lost his way, he resolved to consult the bishop of London (Compton), and the archbishop (Sancroft); the latter of whom directed that the most offensive passages of a book written by Sclater, and the confessions and acknowledgment of his letters, should be collected for a public recantation; and the archbishop's chaplain, assisted by Dr. Horneck, carried this suggestion into effect.

When the appointed day arrived, Mr. Sclater read his recantation aloud after morning service, and evidently was deeply affected. A psalm was then sung; at the end of which Dr. Horneck read a short address, announcing that, since Mr. Sclater made such a profession of repentance, it had been agreed that he should be admitted to lay-communion, in accordance with the apostle's instruction to restore one who had been overtaken in a fault, in the spirit of meekness. He then proceeded to remind them, that to judge of the heart was the province of God alone; and appealed to the penitent himself, to do as much good by his future life and conversation, as he had done harm by his late unhappy example. An appropriate sermon was then preached by the bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Burnet.)

Dr. Horneck was an early and zealous promoter of those associations which were formed in the reign of king James the second, under the title of *Religious Societies*, and *Societies for Reformation*.

At that period, the general decay of religion, and corruption of morals, (deplored by Mr. Evelyn and all other writers of piety and virtue,) seemed to demand some extraordinary efforts to bring about a better state of things. But the favour shown to popery in high quarters, and the efforts it was making to regain possession of the public mind, were the immediate causes of their introduction. Men endued with a lively concern for religion, in London and its neighbourhood, began to meet together, both for



devotional purposes and for their mutual instruction in the principles of the protestant faith. Such meetings had not been uncommon amongst the old puritans, and were still countenanced by the non-conformists; but the exigences of the times now recommended them to the notice and adoption of members of the church. The excellent Beveridge and Dr. Horneck are commended to honourable notice by bishop Burnet, in the *History of his Own Times*, as having been cordial promoters of these associations. Mr. Evelyn, who deplores in his *Diary* the great increase of profligacy and ungodliness, was a member of one of them.

“After the revolution,” says Burnet, “these societies grew more numerous, and for a greater encouragement to devotion, they got such collections to be made as maintained clergymen to read prayers in so many places, and at so many different hours, that devout persons might have that comfort at every hour of the day. There were constant sacraments every Lord’s day in many churches. There were both greater number, and greater appearances of devotion, at prayers and sacraments, than had been observed in the memory of man. These societies resolved to inform the magistrates of swearers, drunkards, profaners of the Lord’s day, and of lewd houses; and they threw in the part of the fine given by law to informers, into a stock of charity. From this they were called Societies of Reformation. Some good magistrates encouraged them, but others treated them roughly. As soon as the late queen [Mary] heard of this, she did, by her letters and proclamations, encourage their designs, which were afterwards prosecuted by the late king [William].”

Several of these societies fixed upon Dr. Horneck to be their spiritual adviser; and their designs and proceedings may be inferred from the following rules, which he drew up for the regulation of their meetings:—

1. All that enter the society shall resolve upon a holy and serious life.—2. No person shall be admitted into the society until he has arrived at the age of sixteen, and has been first

confirmed by the bishop, and solemnly taken upon himself, his baptismal vow.—3. They shall choose a minister of the church of England to direct them.—4. They shall not be allowed, in their meetings, to discourse of any controverted point of divinity.—5. Neither shall they discourse of the government of church or state.—6. In their meetings they shall use no prayers but those of the church, such as the Litany and Collects, and other prescribed prayers; but still they shall not use any that peculiarly belongs to the minister, as the absolution.—7. The minister whom they choose shall direct what practical divinity shall be read at these meetings.—8. They may have liberty, after prayer and reading, to sing a psalm.—9. After all is done, if there be time left, they may discourse each other about their spiritual concerns; but this shall not be a standing exercise which any shall be obliged to attend unto.—10. One day in the week shall be appointed for this meeting, for such as cannot come on the Lord's day; and he that absents himself without cause shall pay three-pence to the box.—11. Every time they meet, every one shall give six-pence to the box.—12. On a certain day in the year, viz., Whit-Tuesday, two stewards shall be chosen, and a moderate dinner provided, and a sermon preached; and the money distributed (necessary charges deducted,) to the poor.—13. A book shall be bought, in which these orders shall be written.—14. None shall be admitted into this society, without the consent of the minister who presides over it; and no apprentice shall be capable of being chosen.—15. If any case of conscience shall arise, it shall be brought before the minister.—16. If any member think fit to leave the society, he shall pay five shillings to the stock.—17. The major part of the society shall conclude the rest.—18. The following rules are more especially recommended to the members of this society, viz.—To love one another. When reviled, not to revile again. To speak evil of no man. To wrong no man. To pray, if possible, seven times a-day. To keep close to the church of England. To transact all things peaceably and gently. To be helpful to each other. To use themselves to holy thoughts in their coming in and going out. To examine themselves every night. To give every one their due. To obey superiors, both spiritual and temporal.

Bishop Kidder was not able to pronounce whether Dr. Horneck "did move these young men at first to enter into such societies, or whether they first applied to him, and he only gave them rules to govern themselves by." But the cautious manner in which he here provided for the cultivation of brotherly-kindness, humility, candour, and the spirit of meekness, will commend his regulations to the admiration of all, particularly of those who are aware that consequences of an opposite nature have unhappily grown out of societies formed for the same important purposes, but conducted with less wisdom and foresight.

This sketch of Dr. Horneck's ministerial character would be incomplete without an extract from an address to his "beloved parishioners," prefixed to his *The Fire of the Altar*, a work designed to assist the devout communicant\*.

There is nothing I am more afraid of, than that the generality of you, both young and old, either have not, or will not have, right apprehensions of that christian religion you profess; some being apt to place it in a careless, customary belief of the doctrine; some in leaving a few notorious sins; others, in saying their prayers; others in doing nobody wrong; others, again, in having good desires and pious inclinations: all which opinions are notorious mistakes of the nature and temper of christianity, which imports a change of nature, [and] disposition, and acting contrary to the humours, passions, manners, customs, and deportment of the world; and this is it I must see and perceive in you, before I can conclude that my pains and labours among you have not been in vain.

Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for you is, that you might be saved. I will assure you this is no compliment, no form of speech, no words in course, but the ardent wish of my soul, and my fervent prayers day and night; this is the desire of my soul in private and in public: for this I fill my mouth with arguments to that God who heareth prayers, even then when you do not think of me; for this I

\* The subjoined passage is transcribed from the 14th edition of that work.

study and take pains, and am willing to spend myself and be spent; and your salvation is the great object of my care: for this end I venture your anger, and caress your love; for this end I walk blameless among you, and am tender of your welfare; for this end I reprove, and exhort, and entreat you, and run, and spend my breath, and all that you may be saved.

I am not ignorant of the devil's devices; I am sensible of the nature of sin, how apt it is to deceive you; and though I am not with you in all places, I see by the effects how the enemy of your souls deals with you, and what will be the issue of a careless life. I consider the shrieks of the damned in hell and would fain keep you from that dangerous gulf. I see you stand upon the brink of destruction, and cannot forbear calling to you. O! do yourselves no harm! The greatest kindness you can do me, the greatest gratitude you can express, the greatest civility and respect you can show me, is to do according to the wholesome counsels I do give you. Whatever construction some of you may put upon these adjurations, the Searcher of all hearts knows this to be true, that I will rejoice in nothing so much as in your obedience to the gospel.

I would fain rejoice with you in the great day of the Lord Jesus; I would fain see you glorious saints in the everlasting mansions; I would fain see you shine as the stars in the firmament of heaven; I would see you triumph with angels, sing with cherubims, and join the celestial choir in eternal praise. Think what a dismal sight it will be in that day, to see some of you weeping and howling in the burning lake, that might have feasted with the Son of God in his Father's kingdom. We that meet together in the church militant here, what a happy, what a glorious sight would it be, to meet all in the church triumphant, when these bodies do drop from us!

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## CHAPTER II.

## HIS PRIVATE LIFE AND VIRTUES; DEATH AND CHARACTER.

Ask him indeed what trophies he has raised,  
 Or what achievements of immortal fame  
 He purposes, and he shall answer,—None.  
 His warfare is within. There unfatigued  
 His fervent spirit labours. There he fights,  
 And there obtains fresh triumphs o'er himself,  
 And never-with'ring wreaths, compared with which  
 The laurels that a Cæsar reaps are weeds.

COWPER'S *Task*.

“THE good example of the preacher,” says Jeremy Taylor, “is always the most prevailing homily, his life is the best sermon.” In examining Dr. Horneck’s private character, we find that he lived as he preached. The sincerity and piety which were so manifest in his discharge of the duties of the pastoral care, are not less worthy of imitation, when we follow him from his parish and his church into the family circle, or the most secret place of his solitary devotions. “I must not,” he says, “tell the people of one way, and go another;” . . . “we must not only pretend to religion, but practise it; not only talk and dispute, and entertain ourselves with speculations and discourses about it, but live up to its holy rules.”

He was a bright and consistent example of personal religion; and of this we have abundant testimony. Bishop Kidder, after declaring that no partiality for his friend could induce him to “exceed in his commendation,” thus describes the way in which he walked with God.

“His religion had its full power and force upon him; it transformed him into the image and likeness of God. It hath always been esteemed safe advice to imitate Him whom we worship; he worshipped the true and living God, the holy and merciful, the God of truth and righteousness, and not only the greatest and most powerful, but the best of beings. He was a follower of God, and his divine image was fairly stamped and impressed upon his soul. He imitated God in those two

things, which one of the ancients tells us will make us like God; viz., *speaking truth, and bestowing benefits.*

“A man of greater simplicity and veracity I never knew, and there are multitudes that will witness that he went about doing good. He did vow in his baptism to renounce the devil, the world, and the flesh. Some men go no further; all their religion comes from the font. But this good man performed his vow, he cast out of himself the evil one\*, and renounced all his works; overcame the world in the noblest sense, and subdued and mortified all the sinful desires of the flesh. He was a conqueror, and more than a conqueror.

“He devoted himself entirely, and without reservation, to the service of his God. It was not only his business, but his choice and delight, his meat and drink. I need not say that he was much in prayers and fastings, in meditation and heavenly discourse, very frequent in devout communion, in reading and hearing the word, in watchings and great austerities. He wisely considered that these were the means, not the end of religion, that these are not godliness, but only helps, and the way to it. And he arrived at the end of these things.

“He had an ardent love of God, a great faith in Him, and was resigned to his will; he had an unspeakable zeal for his honour, a profound regard to his word, and to his worship, and to all that had the nearest relation to Him, or did most partake of his image and likeness. He was a man after God’s own heart.

“He lived under a most grateful sense of God’s mercies, he was governed by his fear, and had a lively sense of his especial care and providence. He had that sense of God’s mercy in giving us his Son to die for us, that it was observed of him, that when he discoursed of that argument, he used no measure, no bounds, or limits of his discourse; his heart was so affected with that argument, that he could not put a stop to himself. Jesus was his Lord and Master, and He had His life and

\* Dr. Horneck entertained some notions, not peculiar in those times, with regard to the agency of the devil. He conceived that extraordinary powers might be attained through satanic influence. In short, he was not proof against well-attested stories of witchcraft, as appears from his postscript to Glanvil’s work on that subject.

example always before him, and conformed himself to it in the whole tenour and course of his life.

“His religion was unaffected and substantial, it was genuine and primitive; and so great a pattern he was, that he might have passed for a saint, even in the first and best times of christianity.”

The writings of such a man may fairly be quoted, as expressing the genuine sentiments of his heart, and illustrating his spirit and character; bishop Kidder assures us that they do so, and therefore we shall not hesitate, in the remainder of this memoir, to mingle some extracts from his works, with the other particulars which we are enabled to furnish from our other resources.

He kept a continual watch over his soul, examining minutely its principles and the conduct which it dictated. A diary was found after his death, from which it appeared that he called himself to a strict account every night, for the thoughts, words, and actions of the day past. If he had done any good that day, he gave God the praise for it before he slept; “and few men that lived,” says the bishop, “passed fewer days, if he passed any such, without doing good.” But when any words or thoughts, which he could recall to his memory, seemed to betray a want of care and consideration, he reproached himself severely before he lay down to rest. Easily as he could forgive his enemies, he was slow to excuse himself, and while he was to others one of the kindest of men, to himself he was strict and severe.

He looked upon this practice of daily self-examination as highly conducive to a christian's growth in grace, and pronounced it to be “the best preservative against the infection of any sin whatsoever.” In his writings, he suggests several outlines of self-examination, of which there can be no doubt that he made use himself. He advises the christian to inquire into the use he has made of his several faculties and senses;—or to try himself by the spirit as well as the letter of the ten commandments;—or to call his heart to account by questions framed out

of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. As a shorter course, he proposed such inquiries as the following:—"1. What company have I been in to-day, and what was my discourse and behaviour? 2. What good have I done to-day, either to my own soul, or to others? 3. What good thoughts have I entertained? 4. How have I managed my devotions? 5. Have I said or done anything whereby either God or man might justly be offended?"

Thus carefully providing against any occasion for the intrusion of painful recollections, it is no wonder that the place of his religious retirement was the scene of more than usual joy. He accounted it a privilege of extraordinary value to be permitted to look up to God as a reconciled Father. "What a comfort it is," he exclaims, "to have God for my Friend, whom I can have recourse to in all my necessities, make my moan to, and tell Him how my heart is grieved; who will not laugh at my calamity, nor mock when my fear comes; whose bowels yearn over me, who will advise me for the best, bid me lay my wearied head on his bosom, direct me to the breasts of consolation from which I may suck life and vigour; who will deal sincerely with me, act for me, speak for me, and contrive my good, and be concerned for me, as if my necessities were his own!" To employ his own language as expressive of his genuine feelings,— "How could he want joy that was sensible the Fountain of joy was with him? How could he want support who was sensible that the God of all consolation was with him? How could he want a refuge or hiding-place, who was sensible he had the Rock of Ages in the room with him!" Or again, "Look abroad," he says, "and see who hath greater comforts, greater peace, and greater consolation, (consolation, I mean, that is solid and lasting, and can resist storms, and weather the greatest brunts,) than those who love, and admire, and adore, and worship Him who lives for ever and ever."

He was anxious for continual advances from strength to strength. "Work hard!" he declares, "is the chris-



tian's motto, and there is nothing that implies a greater contradiction than idleness and christianity." "Shall any man," he asks, "talk of ease and softness, that in his baptism hath vowed himself to a continual warfare, and engaged himself to fight under the banner of Jesus? The time of rest is to come, the present time is designed for labour and trouble."

The ordinary exercises which he recommended as conducive to godliness, were "To pray always; every morning to resolve to tie ourselves to certain rules of living that day; every day to spend half an hour, or some such time, in thinking of good things; to study deep humility; to bridle our tongues; to watch against little sins; to keep a strict guard over our eyes; to make good use of the virtues and vices of our neighbours; to put a charitable interpretation upon what we see and hear; conscientiously to discharge the duties of our several callings and relations; to resist all sorts of temptations; to stand in awe of God, when we are alone and no creature sees us; to do all things to God's glory; to stir up and exercise the graces God hath given us; every night, before we go to bed, to call ourselves to an account for the actions of the day.

He was also of opinion that great benefit resulted to those who occasionally bound themselves by solemn vows and promises, and who subdued the body by strict fasting and other severe discipline. The several methods, however, of carrying the latter into effect, were only to be adopted, he said "when either some great corruption is to be subdued, or our devotion wants quickening, or when God's glory requires it, or when our neighbour's welfare and edification are to be signally promoted." And he cautioned the christian from supposing that any merit attached to such exercises, since "merit is nonsense in divinity;" or that they were anything else but means conducive to a good end. He also deprecated the practice of thinking uncharitably of those who did not have recourse to such expedients.

In these views we probably see some of the consequences

of his strong affection and veneration for the primitive church, and for the great examples of spirituality, furnished by those who, in the earliest ages, led ascetic lives.

Of his own midnight devotions, we may doubtless form a correct idea from the course which he recommends to others. He advises that the christian should begin with "musing upon God's wondrous works, upon the blackness and deformity of sin, and the dismalness of that soul that is a stranger to divine illumination." He then counsels him to proceed to prayer, and to conclude with singing, or if he cannot sing, with "rehearsing the songs of the sweet singer of Israel;" and "these happy changes," he says, "like so many different musical instruments, will give new delights to his soul, and make him loth to give over."

His manner, also, of speaking of "great self-denials in diet, in apparel, in company, in talking, in mirth and recreation," betokens that he often thus chastened his soul, and brought his body into subjection. "O that you would but try, and venture upon this severe course;" he exclaims, in language which bespeaks his own experience, "there are treasures in it of joy, of comfort, and satisfaction; and you will find how your sins will abate, how your corruptions will decrease, and your evil inclinations will become less troublesome; you will find how everything will thrive under it, and what a strengthening it will be to your faith, and hope, and love, and charity, and how all these graces will grow, and swell, and become large and fruitful."

Bishop Kidder relates that Dr. Horneck's ordinary habits, with regard to his food, were characterized by extreme moderation. "He was temperate," says the bishop, "to the greatest degree, I had almost said to a fault. I have often feared that considering his great and constant labours, he hardly gave himself that refreshment that was fit. He drank very little wine at any time; and in the latter part of his life he wholly abstained from it . . . . After the fatigue and labour of the day,

he would sup with an apple or two, with a little bread, and small ale, or milk and water. This he would receive with great thankfulness to God, and great cheerfulness among his domestics. He was very thankful to God for a morsel of bread, and received the meanest provision with the greatest expressions of gratitude. And yet, when he entertained his friends, he did it liberally. He was always least concerned for himself, but to others he was liberal and open-handed; and rather than the poor should want bread, he would fast himself."

He allowed little time for recreation. Not that he proscribed all amusement, for he saw that some refreshment of the spirits was generally requisite for mankind. But he was very sparing in every kind of indulgence, and religion itself was his chief pleasure. In his book entitled *Delight and Judgment*, (in which it was his design to bring the mind into a sober and serious frame by a recollection of the solemn proceedings of the last day,) he lays it down as a grand principle of our religion,—that the true pleasures of a christian are to flow from "a spiritual delight in God, in a crucified Saviour, and in the blessed effects and influences of the Holy Spirit,—in feeling the operations of the divine power and glory upon our souls, in the precious promises of the gospel, in the revelations God hath vouchsafed to mankind, in the good we see wrought in ourselves and others, in the providences of God, and in contemplation of his various dealings with the several states, orders, and degrees of men,—in psalms, and hymns, and praises of the Divine Majesty, in the thoughts and expectations of a better life, in the treasures which God hath laid up for them that fear Him, in another world, and in the various privileges, prerogatives, and advantages of holy men." He adds that, in comparison of these pleasures, a christian is "obliged to count all outward comforts dross." But he admits that "such worldly delights as are subservient to this, and are neither sinful in themselves, nor apparent occasions of evil, are allowable;" and he particularly commends health-

ful exercise, as tending to render the soul more capable of discharging its religious duties.

Amongst the ordinary pleasures which he pronounced unfit for the participation of a christian, we find the theatrical entertainments of the day. Of these he speaks with marked aversion. It may be remembered that Mr. Evelyn deploras, in his *Diary*, the licentious character of the stage. Dr. Horneck condemns the same evil in many of his works.

Not denying the possibility of scenic representations being made innocent, and even profitable entertainments, he protests warmly against the "stage plays which were suited to the loose humour of the age." He considered that those who attended them were exposed to many and divers temptations, their evil passions were excited, worldly principles alone were commended, religion was often traduced, the name of God was taken in vain, swearing and cursing were of the most common occurrence, and too frequently the audience were tempted to laugh at that profaneness over which a christian ought to weep. It is a place, he says, "where God is often affronted, and religion derided, and virtue ridiculed, and gravity laughed at, and modesty looked upon to be a beggarly qualification, and vice represented in amiable colours." He further speaks of the theatre as promoting that indifference to religion, which, "like a land-flood, hath over-run us."

He entertained very solemn views of the duties which devolved upon him as the head of a family, and endeavoured to discharge them faithfully. A very few words will record all that we know of Mrs. Horneck. Bishop Kidder speaks of her as "his virtuous wife, with whom he lived in great concord and union;" and adds that Dr. Horneck used to refer with much affection to her tender care of him in sickness. But there are some passages in his writings which may, perhaps, be admitted as illustrative of their manner of life, and discharge of relative duties.

In one of his sermons, he speaks thus:—"Love in a married state, being grounded only upon beauty and riches, and other external things, fades when these fade. Virtue, and the fear of God, and the oath that is between them, these must tie their hearts together; and when they do so, their love, like a treble cord, is not easily broken." He deprecates all "unequal yokings," especially where there exists a difference in matters of religion. "In such cases," he says, "there cannot be that sweet, that mutual, encouragement to prayer and praise, and other acts of devotion and piety, which ought to be betwixt such relations." But where the bond of union derived its strength and consistency from the gospel, there he deemed love "an universal medicine. If the infirmities of one party be invincible, love will bear with them; if vincible, love will endeavour to reform them; if crosses happen, love will administer comfort; if prosperity comes flowing in, love will exhort to thankfulness; if disputes arise, love will appease them; if quarrels are broached, love will quench that fire; if misconstructions be made, love will rectify them; if suspicions disturb the mind, love will reject them; if failings appear, love will cover them; and whatever things are amiss in a family, love will endeavour to cure them."

He accounted it his most solemn duty, to direct the thoughts of all around him to the religion of the gospel. Indeed, he wondered how any persons could care for their own souls, without also caring for those of others, especially such as were near and dear to them. Setting forth the duties of a parent, he asks, "How do I exercise myself unto godliness as a father, except I show my children a good example, except I behave myself decently, gravely, soberly, and modestly before them, that they may learn nothing that is ill by my carriage? Except I breed them up in the fear of God, talk to them of the odiousness of sin, and beauty of holiness; instruct them in the ways of God, and pray with them, and for them; except I provide for them, not only for their bodies, but their souls

too; except I admonish them in the Lord, check them for their sins, reprove them for their faults, and correct them early for any indecent action, or expression; except I oblige them to use reverence and respect to their father that begot them, and their mother that bore them; except I instil conscientious principles into them, principles of justice, honesty, goodness, meekness, patience, and giving every one their due; except I inquire into their devotion, whether, and how, they read, and pray, and hear; except I watch their actions, their eating and drinking, sleeping, working, writing, studying, playing, and see whether they keep within bounds or no; except I examine them, what progress they make in piety, whether they make conscience of secret duties, whether they are respectful and obedient to the ministers of the word of God, whether they be attentive in hearing sermons, whether they delight in keeping the Lord's day holy, and what apprehensions they have of their spiritual and eternal condition; how they spend their time, and whether they apply themselves to those virtues they read and hear of; whether they do not indulge themselves in pride, or lying, or envy, or hatred, or revengeful desires; whether they are tractable, and live up to the rules and precepts I give them."

Under these impressions, he took great pains in sowing and watering the good seed in his own family, devoting much time to prayer with them morning and night, and to reading the holy Scriptures, psalmody, and religious conversation. Many and weighty claims he had abroad, but neither these, nor bodily weariness, tempted him to neglect his domestic charge; and there was something in his manner of conducting their devotions, which betokened how deeply he was concerned for their souls.

As he thus proved himself a good husband and parent, so also, beyond the circle of his own family, he was found to be a sincere and judicious friend. He made little show, indeed, and was sparing in his profession of kindness; but when he had occasion to serve his friends,

he was very zealous and active, and shrunk from no labour for their welfare. Bishop Kidder constantly consulted him about the persons on whom he should bestow his preferments; and "no man," he says, "was ever more faithful in this trust; I know not but I may say, no man was more happy than the doctor in this matter. I have tried him several times, and was not deceived. Had I been patron of many livings, I could securely have relied upon his wisdom and fidelity in disposing of them all."

He candidly told his friends of their faults, and reminded them of their duties. "I may say of him," observes bishop Kidder, "what Pliny says of Corellius Rufus, 'I have lost a faithful witness of my life;' and may add what he said upon that occasion to his friend Calvisius, 'I am afraid lest, for the time to come, I should live more carelessly.'" At the same time, his counsels were always given in a spirit of tenderness and meekness. The bishop reckoned his reproofs among his charities, for "he bit and healed at once; there was no gall, no venom in him; it all proceeded from unfeigned charity to the souls of men."

Bishop Kidder also states, that he knew an instance in which Dr. Horneck exercised this boldness in remonstrating against sin, to the permanent injury of his own worldly prospects.

He had an eye to the glory of God in all things, and therefore considered that, in private society, he was bound to "drop some savoury discourse," in the place where he visited. But, since serious and profitable conversation at feasts and entertainments was "altogether out of fashion, and people thought they were not welcome unless they laughed at every trifle, and spoke whatever came next," he allowed himself but a small share of that kind of recreation, deeming it an unprofitable employment of time.

Born and brought up in a foreign land, and therefore without having any prejudices of education to bias him,

he was warmly attached to the church of England. He believed her doctrines, obeyed her instructions, conformed to her constitutions, lived up to her holy principles, and "was ready to sacrifice all that was dear to him in this world, to promote her true interests."

"I very well know," writes bishop Kidder, that "when the church of England hath been traduced and disparaged, he hath not forborne to make so vigorous a defence, that he lost a very great man's friendship by it, and felt the effects of it afterwards by the loss of a considerable worldly advantage, which he would otherwise have stood fair for."

In the reign of James the second, when many were induced to forsake their faith and go over to popery, and others stood inactively watching the course of events, Dr. Horneck was found at his post, zealously advocating the cause of truth. He exposed the errors of the Romish religion, prepared his people to endure the trial which seemed to threaten the nation, and did not decline discussions with the popish priests. He "lifted up his voice like a trumpet, and undauntedly defended the church."

At the same time he was a zealous advocate for charity amongst all men; and it was an object near his heart, that peace and love might prevail amongst all protestants. He considered that those could not be the children of a God of peace, who employed themselves in fomenting discord, and heigh'ening animosities amongst christians; and he regarded those who were taking measures for reconciling the protestant churches one with another as engaged in a blessed work. He had paid some attention to that subject himself; and the principles upon which he thought that a reunion might be effected, will not be read without interest and instruction. He deemed it essential to the establishment of harmony and concord,—

1. That the respective parties which agree in the chief points of religion, do not make any of those points that they differ in, fundamental, as if the fortune of religion depended



upon it, or as if those different points were so many different religions.

2. That the differing persons do not condemn one another for those differences, there being nothing that hath done religion more hurt than men's condemning one another for things to which Christ and his apostles have affixed no condemnation.

3. That notwithstanding the little differences that are among them, they make one church, and endeavour after the welfare and prosperity of it, and join together in public prayer, and in the sacrament of the Eucharist, which is the badge and symbol of fraternity and amity.

4. That one party be not presently jealous and suspicious of the other, as if the opinion which one party espouses were embraced or maintained in a humour, or for worldly ends, but that they charitably believe it is conscience that puts them upon it; at least, till either party espousing that opinion confesses that conscience is not at the bottom of it, or that it appears by undeniable evidence, that a worldly or sinister design is the foundation of it.

5. That the differing parties do not multiply the controversies which are amongst them, make them neither more numerous nor greater than they really are, and that they do not interpret an accidental, unwary expression, that may drop from the pen or mouth of one party, as a new controversy.

6. That one party do not charge the other with consequences which they do not own, nor with doctrines and positions which they detest from their hearts.

7. That each party, in defending or proving their opinion, do it with great modesty, without provoking, exasperating, or opprobrious language, and revilings or bitter reflections on the other.

8. That of these differing parties, none do vie with the other, except it be in living up to the precepts of the gospel, particularly those of patience, long-suffering, and charity.

Few persons could be more dead to the world than was this excellent man. Its honour could not tempt, nor its wealth corrupt, nor its frowns disturb him. He had a great fear of riches, believing that they were too often a

hinderance to the growth of religion. At the revolution he experienced a considerable loss of income, owing to the withdrawal of certain customary presents and offerings, by persons who were offended at his cheerful submission to the new government. Little as he could afford a diminution of very scanty means, at a time when he had a wife and four children; he was never heard to murmur. And when some of his friends spoke with indignation of the unmerited neglect in which he had been suffered to remain, he endeavoured to repress their warmth, telling them he felt confident that God would never suffer him to be in want.

Dr. Horneck continued in narrow circumstances till within three years of his death. In 1689, indeed, archbishop Tillotson particularly recommended him to the patronage of lady Russell, as a person well qualified to hold the living of Covent-Garden, which then became vacant by the promotion of dean Patrick, the incumbent, to the bishopric of Chichester. It appears, however, that some of the parishioners declared themselves hostile to the appointment (a circumstance which we can only attribute to the political animosities just referred to), upon which lady Russell, with the full concurrence of the archbishop, conferred the benefice upon another clergyman\*.

But in 1692, admiral Russell, taking leave of the queen shortly before the battle of La Hogue, particularly requested the royal favour for Dr. Horneck. The queen, after having made some inquiries, and consulted her frequent adviser, archbishop Tillotson, promised the next vacant stall in Westminster Abbey, which promise she fulfilled in the following year.

This elevation did not abate his zeal for the spiritual welfare of his parish. "He was now," says the bishop, "in better circumstances as to the world than he had been, but not less diligent and laborious. He went on

\* In the same year, Dr. Horneck, who was chaplain in ordinary to their majesties, preached a sermon before the king and queen, which was "published by her majesty's special command."

in his Master's work with most unwearied labour, and spent his whole time and strength in it. And it was his delight and his choice." Although his new residence could not have been more than a mile from his parish, he constantly spent one or two days every week at his former house, "on purpose to attend upon those poor, and afflicted, and scrupulous people, that resorted thither for help and advice." Besides these, he devoted other days to the discharge of his ordinary ministerial duties, taking the same care of his flock as before, and teaching them publicly, and from house to house.

In 1694, he resigned a small prebendal stall which he held in Exeter cathedral, and was appointed to another at Wells, by his friend, bishop Kidder. "But I fear," says the bishop, "he made no advantage of it, his charges considered, or if he did, it was very small." Here he manifested that scrupulous integrity which adorned his whole life. Certain lands were attached to his new stall, and these were let on leases for lives, of which two had dropped. The lessee made an offer for a renewal, but the prebendary, thinking more of the good of his successor than of his own private advantage, declined the proposal, and never filled them up. It is further related, that when he went down into the country to make some arrangement for the spiritual good of a parish which was in the patronage of his prebend, he met the lessee of his lands, and warmly remonstrated with him for the irregularities of his life and his evil example.

As a poor man, Dr. Horneck had contrived to find the means of alleviating much distress; but when his income was increased by his stall at Westminster, his charities were enlarged in full proportion, and his friend considers that he gave away more than he ought to have spared from those of his own house. "The words of our Saviour," says the bishop, "*Give to every man that asketh thee*, made a strong impression upon his mind; and I found upon discourse with him, that he was so very much under the power of those words, that he thought he

could hardly be at liberty, even from a common beggar, and sometimes I have taken occasion to discourse with him on that subject." Lest, however, he should labour under an imputation of weakness from this representation, it may be well to add, that he states in one of his sermons, that this very precept "doth not oblige us to give to them who ask, if they are idle, and lazy, and able to work, and will not; or who spend what they get in riotous living."

Unwearied application to the work of the ministry shortened the term of Dr. Horneck's life. In the year 1678, a long and languishing illness had brought him well nigh to the grave. But it pleased God to raise him up again; and in some papers found after his decease, he attributed his recovery to the affectionate care of his wife, and the fervent prayers of pious people. In gratitude to God for this preservation from death, he set apart a monthly day of memorial in his family; and every year he preached a commemoration sermon at the Savoy, in which he recounted God's mercies to him, and excited the congregation to hope and trust in the same gracious Father in like extremities; thus making the providential dispensations of God fruitful of permanent benefit to himself and those who heard him.

He lived, indeed, many years, to observe these devout memorials of his rescue from death, but the burden of his pastoral labours wore him out prematurely, and his friends observed with pain the increasing tokens of decay. Bishop Kidder held much communion with him about this time, and has left us an edifying account of the circumstances attending his departure.

"I have often told him," says that prelate, "that he could not long continue under the labour which he underwent; and I plainly saw that he declined, and would do so more and more unless he did remit his very great labours. I convinced him abundantly of the truth of what I observed of him; he was sensible of it, and seemed very inclinable to retire from the multiplicity of business with which he was almost over-

whelmed. He went on in his accustomed labours to Christmas, 1696. Then his work increased upon him; and whereas other men's labours are then intermitted, his were augmented. For at that time he had more frequent communions, besides an incredible number of applications from poor people, who then expected relief and assistance, which gave him great diversion and trouble. He nevertheless went through all this labour and trouble with as great cheerfulness as was possible.

“But not long after, I found plain alteration in him for the worse. On the 23d of January I was much concerned for him. He was to preach the next day at the Savoy, and I was of opinion that it was not safe for him to do it. I was very earnest with him to spare himself that day, but could not prevail. He preached there, and it was the last sermon that he preached.

“In the evening I found him (to my great sorrow,) in great disorder. From that time his illness [the stone,] increased upon him. He was in pain, and greatly indisposed all that week. And yet, when I asked him, which I frequently did, if he were not in great pain,—all the answer that I could get from him was, that ‘the pain he felt was tolerable.’ There was nothing wanting that could be thought of towards giving him ease. The ablest physicians were consulted, and advised upon his case, and attended him with great diligence and tenderness, but without success,

“When death looked him in the face, there were a great many considerations that might have disposed him to desire a longer life at that time. I well knew his circumstances, and those of his family, and how desirable his life was upon many accounts. But yet this pious man was not only willing to die, but was entirely delivered from the fear of it, and did, with great cheerfulness and alacrity, receive the tidings and sentence of death. He was, by God's grace, delivered entirely from all fear or doubt. I say, by the grace of God he was delivered, and special grace it was. Very good persons, when they come to die, have their doubts, and their great fears too. It is an easy thing to discourse wisely and philosophically of the contempt of death, but they which do so have not the same presence of mind when death looks them in the face.

“ On Sunday morning, January the 31st, he was worse than ever he had been, insomuch that those about him thought him dying at eleven in the morning. I was then at Westminster Abbey, and was sent for out of the church to pray with him. I found him very sensible. I asked him if he were aware that he was dying; he replied that he was. I asked him if he were also resigned and willing to die; he replied, very readily, that he was willing to die. I asked him whether he had considered the words, Heb. ii. 14, 15\*, and whether or not he found himself delivered from all the slavish fear of death; he replied very quick, looking up to heaven, that he was delivered from that fear. He was in an excellent frame, and joined with the prayers which the church appoints on such occasions, with great expressions of devotion. Some time after this, I found him delirious, and not long after, speechless. After some few hours' groans he expired, at eight o'clock that evening, being then about the fifty-sixth year of his age.”

The mortal remains of Dr. Horneck were buried on the 4th of February, in Westminster Abbey, his funeral being attended by several of the bishops and eminent clergymen, as well as by a great concourse of persons who had held him in high estimation.

This chapter is itself little else but a character of Dr. Horneck. Another and shorter description is supplied by the epitaph inscribed on his monument, in Westminster Abbey, which truly states that, remarkable as he was for learning and erudition, he was still more distinguished for his ardent love and piety towards God, his holiness of life, his sober-mindedness, and his unremitting kindness towards all men, especially the poor and sick; that he was eminent, as an unwearied preacher of the gospel for about twenty-six years, at the Savoy; and that his writings were enriched by a primitive piety, and high and holy christian principles.

*\* Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same; that through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage.*

But there is one great excellence which sheds a radiance over his whole life and deportment, and may properly claim a distinct notice, before we take leave of him whom it adorned. It is, his devotedness to God. He considered his Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier in all things. This was the living principle which, under divine direction, possessed his affections and understanding, animated his charity, gave fervency to his devotion, and wrought his inward purity.

The too common standard of religion is low and inconsistent, comprising little more than the absence of presumptuous sins, and the experience of some devotional feelings, without that gravity, uncorruptness, holiness, and self-dedication to God, which He requires of his creatures. Dr. Horneck saw the hollowness of such views, and aimed at far higher attainments. He felt himself bound, as a christian, to surrender himself wholly to God. He therefore made the holy Scriptures his continual study; prayer and communion with God his constant employment and pleasure; he ordered his steps by faith, and thus walked with God; he watched against the appearance of evil; he denied himself, mortifying the flesh by fastings, and keeping under his body, and bringing it into subjection; he weaned his heart from the world, and became indifferent about its fashions and opinions; and he set his affections on things above.

Out of the abundance of such a heart, designs for the spiritual welfare of all around him might be expected to proceed; and we have seen that he accounted it the duty of those who stood in the relations of husband, parent, master, and neighbour, to consider the glory of God in the salvation of souls their chief concern, and to endeavour to bring those who were nearly connected with them into the fold of Christ.

The same high principle imparted all its value to his ministry. Hence (and not from any lower motive,) proceeded his diligence in pastoral labours, his plain and pathetic preaching, his constant intercourse with the sick

and poor, his conferences with the weak and irresolute, his remonstrances with the vicious and ungodly, his care of religious associations, his striking practical writings, and his unremitting diligence in all these good works, even to the exhaustion of the powers of life.

He acted under the influence of a solemn conviction, that God had the first claim to his faculties, time, and talents, and that the gospel ought to be glorified by the lives of all who believe in it. And it seems to have been his chief care, to obtain an answer to the anxious question of St. Paul, *Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?* and then to enter upon the zealous discharge of his duty, in dependence on the Divine blessing.

Such were the life and disposition of the holy man whose memory is here revived for a season. Worldly fame is transient; his worth may soon be again forgotten; but a book of remembrance is kept in heaven, where his name will remain in everlasting honour amongst the eminent servants of God.

END OF THE VOLUME.

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